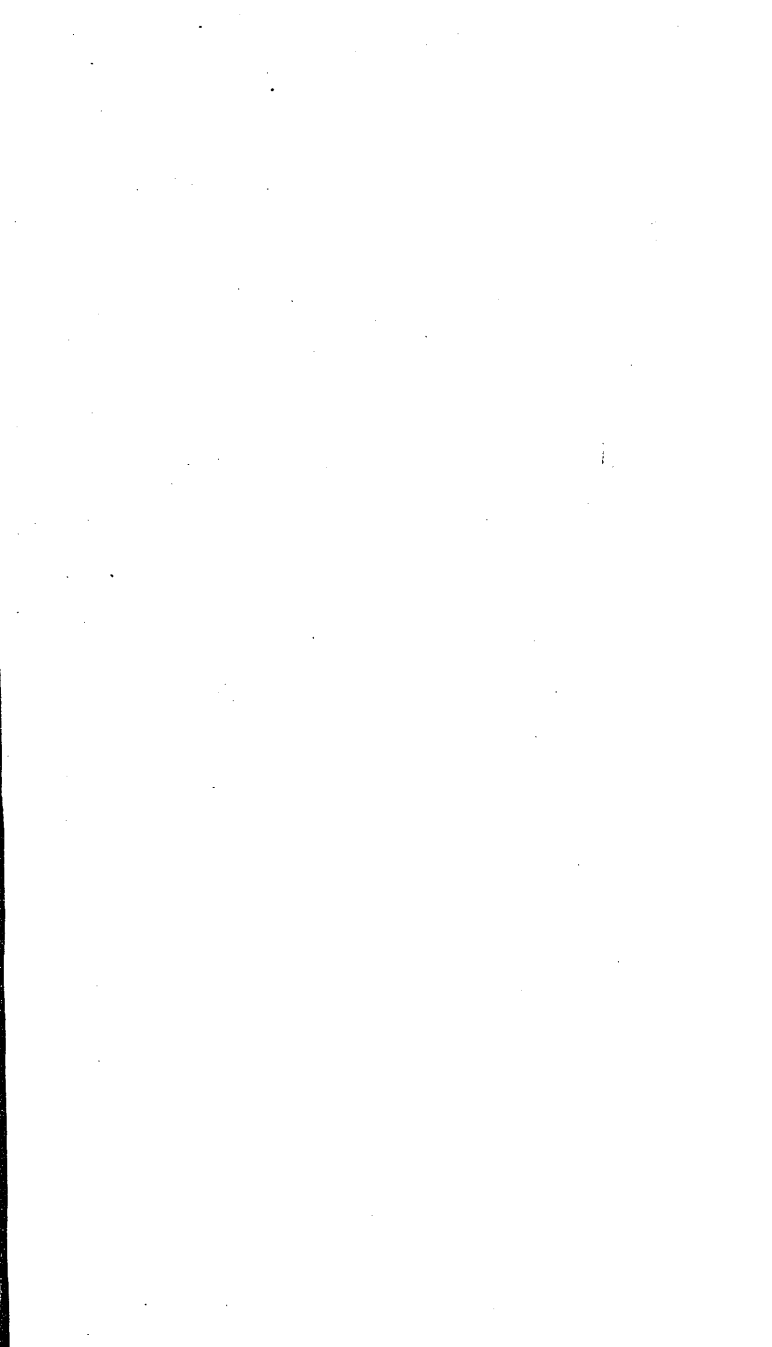
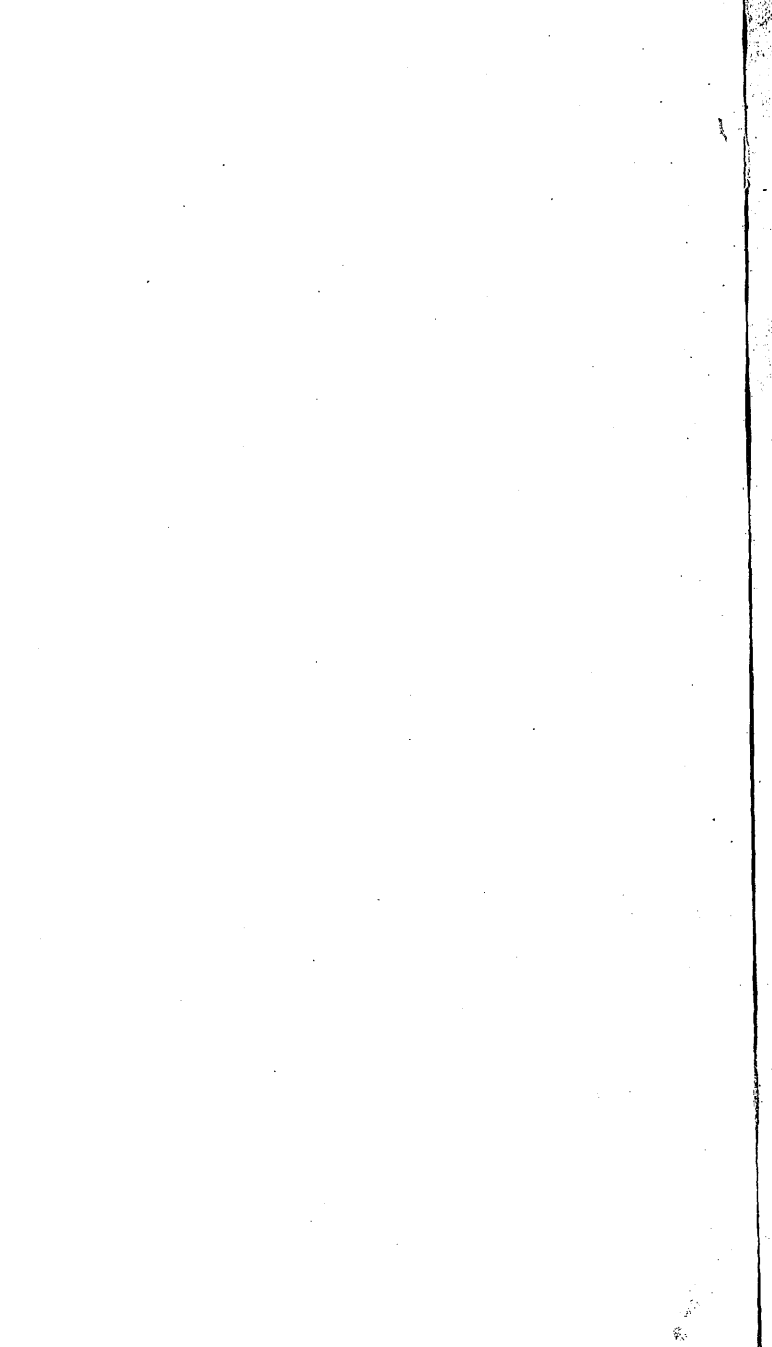


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THE
CHURCH OF ROME,
IN HER PRIMITIVE PURITY,
COMPARED WITH
THE CHURCH OF ROME,
AT THE PRESENT DAY
BEING A CANDID EXAMINATION OF HER
CLAIMS TO UNIVERSAL DOMINION.

ADDRESSED, IN THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTIAN KINDNESS,

TO THE

ROMAN HIERARCHY.

BY JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D.

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Vermont.

Cur profers in medium, quod Petrus et Paulus edere noluerunt? Usque ad hunc diem sine ista doctrina mundus Christianus fuit. Illam senex tenebo fidem, in qua puer natus sum.—*Hieron. ad Pam. et Ocean. Op. Om. Tom. 2. p. 131.*

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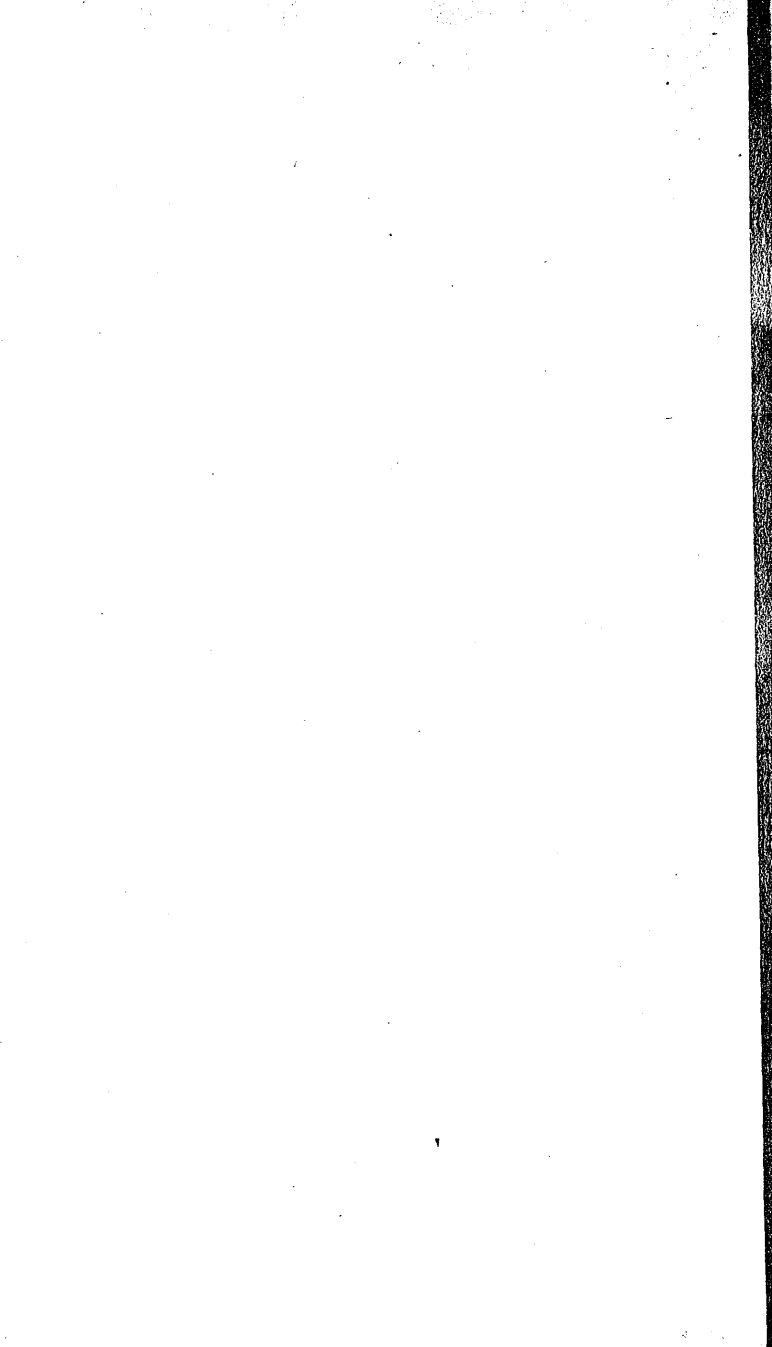
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TO THE CAUSE OF
CATHOLIC UNITY,
AS IT EXISTED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,
AND AS IT STILL EXISTS
IN THE HEARTS AND HOPES OF CHRISTIANS,
THIS VOLUME,
AN HUMBLE OFFERING
TO THE GOD OF TRUTH AND PEACE,
IS DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR.

D5260



P R E F A C E .

THE author of the ensuing work, in undertaking a formal discussion of Roman-Catholic claims, has desired to confine himself, rigidly, to those authorities and to that kind of argument, which he thought best calculated for the candid consideration of his Roman brethren, and most becoming in every man, who seeks to contend for the principles of Christian truth, without forfeiting the blessings of a Christian spirit. It will be immediately obvious, to those who are at all familiar with the controversy, that he has not followed any beaten track; nor taken his model from any of the justly celebrated writers who have gone before him. With those writers, he institutes no comparison—he holds no competition. A sincere admirer of their learning and their genius, he would not, if he could, detract one word from the well-earned praise accorded to them. But still it seemed to him, that there was abundant room for a more *simple*, and, possibly, *effective* method of exhibiting the evidence of antiquity, upon the points in question. The track which his own mind had pursued, in examining the subject, appeared to him the most satisfactory; and in presenting the result to the lovers of primitive Christianity, he trusts they will not have reason to think that he has labored in vain.

For the plan and special motives of the work, the author refers to the opening chapters of the book itself. One slight change, however, he has made; since the second chapter was printed. Instead of the Prælections of Tournely, and Dr. Challoner's Catholic Christian, which he intended to have cited

as mentioned on page 15, he thought it would be more acceptable to substitute Mr. Butler's Letters to Dr. Southey, chiefly because this latter work is more generally known among us, and possesses, in some respects, a peculiar kind of authority. It was not the author's design to discuss, at present, any topics except those which belong to the pope's supremacy, and the dominion claimed over the whole Christian world by the Church of Rome. The other points of the controversy, however, have been equally the subjects of his study, for many years; and the materials are collected for a similar discussion of them all, should it please Providence to favor the undertaking.

The author is sensible that some apology is due to his distant friends for the length of time which has elapsed since the first announcement of this volume. Those who are near do not need to be reminded, that the pressure of many other toils and cares rendered this delay inevitable.

BURLINGTON, VT. }
July 1st, 1837. }

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CHAPTER I.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

AN address to an ecclesiastical body so numerous, so powerful, so august, as the Hierarchy of the Church of Rome, from an individual of humble name and small reputation, may well seem, if not to others, at least to you, in need of an apology. Let me state, therefore, in all simplicity, the motives which have incited me to the present undertaking.

I belong to the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, descended from the Church of England, which you call heretical and schismatic. Unworthy, as I freely acknowledge myself, of such a distinction, it has pleased Divine Providence to place me in the office of bishop in that Church, the least among my brethren. On the ground then, in the first place, of official duty, I ask the privilege of reasoning with you on the authority by which you deny us a place in the Catholic Church, and condemn us as having neither part nor lot in the heritage of the faithful.

But besides this official right, I confess,—even at the hazard of being accused of egotism—that I have a personal feeling of more than usual depth and earnestness upon the subject of your claims. Although a constant inhabitant of the United States for almost forty years, yet I cannot forget that my first breath was drawn in that ill-fated island, which

has felt the evils of religious discord so bitterly, and so long. True, the associations of my childhood have all been broken, and their faded relics are like the dim memory of a dream: but I never expect to see the day when I shall contemplate the religious distractions of Ireland without a lively emotion; nor can I shake off the strong conviction, that tranquillity will never be restored to that unhappy country, until the exclusive spirit of bigotry lies prostrate before the gospel of peace. May I not be allowed, therefore, to say that I possess a sort of birthright in the discussion of your claims, which should obtain for me a patient and indulgent hearing?

There is a third ground, however, on which I should defend my work, derived from the fact, that the controversy between our respective Churches deserves to be considered the most exciting and important religious topic of the age. In comparison with this, all other controversies sink into insignificance. Your assertion that the Church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all the Churches, and that out of her pale there is no salvation—your numbers, which are stated to exceed all the other branches of the Christian Church together, by a proportion of nearly two to one—your vast and well disciplined influence over the education of the civilized world—your hosts of devoted laity,—men and women—whose property, and time, and talents, are consecrated to your service—the imposing magnificence of your ritual, so well adapted to captivate the imagination and the feelings of your votaries—your deep and various learning, so skilfully displayed in the defence of your system,—the venerable air of antiquity which invests your peculiar doctrines with a special charm—and the aspect of unbroken unity with which you stand before the divided and jarring ranks of your opponents,—all this does assuredly confer an

importance on the subject of your claims, which can hardly be too highly estimated; and which forms, of itself, a justification of every attempt to ascertain the strength of the evidence on which they are sustained.

Nor do I think it the least important part of the case, that the temper of the times in which we live calls for a peculiar effort to investigate the merits of this controversy. Your enemies, particularly in this country, are numerous, determined, and unsparing. The most unparalleled assaults of violence have been directed against you, and a community distinguished for its liberality and refinement have refused you any adequate redress. The press has teemed with the darkest and most shameless accusations against your institutions, and no calumny of which you are declared to be the object seems too gross for the public ear. The gaze of unkind suspicion is every where upon you: the very kennels of history are industriously raked for evidence against you: the bitterest intolerance thinks itself justified in alarming the community by terrific statements of your alleged enormities; and the veil of your monastic seclusion and your vows of celibacy are currently represented, as the contrivance of systematic guilt, and the covering of sensual abomination. It is surely, then, required, by the voice of charity and truth, that some one should examine the questions at issue between us, upon their real merits, without the artificial and fallacious coloring in which a wild and intolerant zeal has depicted them: and it is equally required by the precept which commands us to judge as we would be judged, that your motives and your character should be kindly regarded, even when your doctrines are condemned.

But you will naturally ask, what qualifications I possess for my undertaking; on what principle I design to prosecute it; and why I choose to address it to the Hierarchy, the

Clergy of your Church, rather than to the people, or the public at large.

To the first question, I frankly answer, that my qualifications for this or any other good work are far below those of very many amongst my brethren. But it is nearly twelve years since my attention was first directed to the merits of this controversy; and my best faculties, such as they are, have been long occupied in ascertaining the truth from every accessible source of information. Your own books have been my study,—your own editions of the fathers and the councils. Not only your canon law, but the decretal epistles, and many of those apocryphal writings under the name of Clement and others, which the learned of your own Church condemn, have been industriously examined during this period, in order that I might be capable of a fair judgment on the real evidence of antiquity. I had read the leading works on both sides, and saw that both parties appealed to the same Bible, the same fathers, and the same councils, while yet the conclusions which they drew were not to be reconciled. It was obvious, therefore, that the labor of perusing these authorities *in their own connexion*, was the only perfect method of arriving at the whole truth—a labor that few men, perhaps, in our day, are willing to undergo. But for myself, I can say, that I found it not only a work of toil, but a work of the deepest interest and gratification. And the results of these studies, which I desire, in part, to offer you—however humble the claims of my work may otherwise appear,—are at least the fruits of sincere and honest investigation.

Next to the qualification derived from a patient and laborious examination of your authorities, permit me to say, that my personal and local circumstances are calculated to preserve me from any bias. Whatever influence the inter-

est of a powerful religious establishment may be supposed to exert over the minds of my British brethren, the Church in this country has neither honors nor wealth to tempt our integrity in the pursuit of truth. Whatever prejudice the unhappy collisions of Europe, or the morbid fears of the United States may excite, to warp the judgment by the force of the passions, my lot has been so cast, in the mercy of Providence, as to be altogether exempt from them. On the contrary, the little intercourse which I have had with you, has been the intercourse of kindness and courtesy; and it has been my fortune to know several of your people, whose virtues would have done honor to any creed. Hence, so far as the qualifications of circumstances and feeling are concerned, I think that I am under no inducement to do you the slightest injustice: and greatly am I mistaken if you shall be able to detect, in the following pages, a single instance of asperity, of irony, of bitterness, or any other unseemly exhibition, on which a Christian disputant could look back with sorrow at his dying hour.

In reply to the second question, I have to say, that the principle on which I shall proceed will be *your own principle*, and no other. I am perfectly willing that the Church of Rome should be the standard of Primitive Christianity, provided the Church of Rome be taken **AT THE PRIMITIVE DAY**. But if the Church of Rome *has varied from herself*, and this can be demonstrably proved by her own acknowledged authorities, then, surely, it will be admitted, that the older pattern must be the *Apostolic pattern*, and that the present Church of Rome **SHOULD RETURN TO HER ORIGINAL SELF**, before she accuses us of innovation. In the evidence which I shall adduce to establish this change, I shall have recourse to your own witnesses. The Scriptures, in your own version, the fathers, the liturgies, the councils,

the canon law, and the accredited declaration of your clergy in France, will furnish my principal vouchers : and in every instance the original shall be quoted in full, that you may judge, without the trouble of a search, whether I have given a fair translation. You will surely grant that the principle here stated is just and true ; and I trust that you will find it faithfully maintained throughout these pages.

To the third question, namely : Why I choose to address you, the Clergy or Hierarchy of the Church of Rome, rather than your people, or the public at large, I beg leave to offer the following reply.

If the object of my humble work were to cater for the public appetite, to excite the public odium, or to inform the public intellect, I should have no desire to be its author. The public—that is, the community at large—take small interest in religious truth, even when dressed in that poor invention of sentimental pietism, the religious novel. Those of the public whom my subject would attract, are ‘ few and far between ;’ and therefore, I address them not. Religious controversy, I am well aware, has often been made interesting to the public, when it was strongly seasoned with gross abuse, slanderous mis-statements, personal invective, amusing or romantic narrative, wit, sarcasm, highly wrought eloquence, or other attractions which the public taste admires. But religious argument composed with sobriety and put forth in the spirit of truth and peace, has no right to expect *popular* favor.

As to your people, I address them not, because, for the most part, they have neither the liberty nor the inclination to read what any Protestant would set before them. The laity are not qualified, in general, to understand or to relish such discussions. True, there are many honorable exceptions to this remark ; but not enough to justify writers, far

more attractive than I pretend to be, in addressing them. But the laity of the Church of Rome, especially, are altogether unlikely to read any thing which their Clergy would not sanction. Your rules of confession, and your strict superintendance over your flocks, confine their religious studies within an approved circle; and, therefore, controversy must reach them through you, if it reaches them at all.

I have, then, concluded to address you, on this occasion, as being, on the whole, the proper body. I do it, because I take for granted that you are bound, above all men, to examine the foundation of your system, and to be thoroughly satisfied that it is justified by the truth of God. You are the absolute guides of millions of your fellow beings, who look up to you with the most implicit faith, the most undoubting confidence; not pretending to judge for themselves in any religious matter, but trusting all their immortal hopes to your presumed infallibility. Many there are—very many—in the Protestant ranks, who think you dishonest, profligate, hypocritical dissemblers—preaching what you do not yourselves believe, for the sake of your priestly influence over the bodies and souls of men. God forbid that I should think so! I judge you, as I would desire to be judged. I have no right to question your sincerity and truth. I proceed on the presumption that you estimate aright the tremendous responsibility of your office—tremendous in all cases, but emphatically so in yours, since your power over your people, and their confidence in your guidance, are so far beyond the ordinary standard throughout the rest of Christendom. And therefore I address you in the steadfast hope, that you will look at the authorities and arguments here presented, with candid minds, as men who feel their accountability to Christ, the great Shepherd, and who know that there is but a step between them and death. Yours

is not the common case of a Church, confessing themselves to be only a portion of the Lord's kingdom, and doing their work according to their ability, without any exclusive prerogative beyond their brethren. **YOU CLAIM THE WHOLE.** You identify the Church of Rome with the Church Catholic or Universal. You call the Bishop of Rome the vicar of Christ. Out of your communion you deny that any one can be saved. Your doctrines are all placed on an equality with the Word of God, for in them all, you claim the same infallibility. You hold in your hands the peace of nations. You assert your empire over the unseen world, promising to deliver the disembodied soul from purgatorial pains, and deciding the title of departed saints to the mansions of glory. O brethren! if you have indeed a right to claim all this—if the almighty Redeemer has indeed invested you with such powers—far be it from me to desire the invasion of your prerogatives. But if not—if these claims are not the original characteristics of the Church of Rome, but are the accumulated changes which time and opportunity brought in upon the Apostolic system—look to it, I beseech you, for they are fearful assumptions if they be not warranted by the King of kings. Before Him, you and I shall meet in judgment. To Him, you must justify your claims, and I, my feeble attempt to question them. May His truth, which is ONE, be found our defence in that day; for the prejudice of education, the pride of place, the ignorance which we might have overcome, or the glory of this world's dominion, will yield us no apology for error, before the throne of God.

I shall only add a few words on the results expected from my present labor, lest you might suppose that I attach an importance to it, which it cannot justly claim. Let me, then, observe, that the question of results has not entered into my circle of calculations. In the mind of the politician,

the mechanist, the man of science, the man of trade, or any of the numerous classes which spend their intellectual energies on the things of time and sense, the expected result of their operations must occupy the first place, since it furnishes the only efficient motive for their exertions. But the defender of religious truth acts in obedience to the principle of duty, and leaves the result with God. The men who are by office, the especial standard bearers in the army of Christ, are bound to 'contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints,' whether their efforts are likely to be accounted the greatest or the least, in the annals of human achievement. For me, therefore, it is enough to know, that the servant who had but a single talent of his Lord's money committed to his trust, was punished because he employed it not according to his Master's will. In the cause of the divine Gospel—in the service of the Church of God—in the defence of its primitive and Apostolic truth and order, I hold myself bound to strive with all men—not in the spirit of bitterness, nor in the bigotry of intolerance, nor in the pride of self-opinion, but in charity and kindness and good will—according to the small measure of ability which it has pleased heaven to bestow. And thus proceeding, the question of results gives me no concern. I may be vilified, because I condemn the coarse vituperation with which so many good men, in their mistaken zeal, have thought fit to assail you. I may bear the doom so often experienced by those, who, in times of high and strong excitement, presume to follow the sober track of justice and of candor. Or, worse than all, my humble work may possibly be like an arrow shot into the air, which strikes no mark, creates no noise, leaves no track behind it, and is discovered, after a little space, lying idly on the ground. But what have these fears to do with the course of duty? And how

precious a consolation is afforded to the servant of Christ, when he is able, in the language and the faith of the great Apostle, to say, 'It is a small thing with me that I be judged of you or of man's judgment—He that judgeth me is the Lord.'

In his name, then, brethren—in the service of his truth, and as the advocate of his ecclesiastical polity, I address you. I desire no better standard of my faith and practice than your own Church displayed, in the early ages of her first love; I ask no better evidence of what she then was, than your own witnesses have set before me: and my design is to exhibit the testimony of these witnesses in its own simplicity and power, and to shew how you have changed your original system, not as some suppose, by the willing adoption of any principle of evil, but **BY AN EXCESSIVE OVERSTRAINING OF WHAT WAS INTENDED TO BE GOOD, ON MISTAKEN VIEWS OF EXPEDIENCY.**

The motives to my undertaking—its principle—its general plan—are now before you. For the result I ask no other security than the Redeemer's blessing, nor do I covet any other praise for my reward.

CHAPTER II.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

I have said that the principle on which this address should proceed, is your own principle,—that I should make my appeal in every case to the authorities sanctioned by your own Canon law. Let me premise the list of those on which I rest, because the witnesses which I wish to cite, must be above all exception. ‘Proofs,’ as your favorite Aristotle has well said, ‘are the only skill ; all the rest are but additions.’*

From the well known work of your famous Canonist Gibert, entitled an Exposition of the Canon law, I quote the following passages.

‘Holy Scripture is the fountain of the Canon law, as respects faith and manners, and also as it respects the necessity, the utility, and the form of Councils.’ (1)

‘Next to the Holy Scripture, the principal fountain of the Canon law at the present day are General Councils.’(2)

* *ὡς γὰρ πίστις ἔτεχνον ἔστι μόνον τα δ' ἄλλα προσθηκῆαι.* Aristot. Rhet. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. v. 3.

(1) ‘*Scriptura Sacra, juris est fons quoad fidem et mores, et quoad necessitatem, utilitatem, et formam Conciliorum;*’ (Corpus Jur. Can. Joan. Gib. Tom. 1. Pars, 2. Tit. 4. Ed. Colon. A. D. 1732. p. 11.)

(2) ‘*Post Scripturam Sacram, præcipuus hodierni juris canonici fons sunt Concilia Generalia;*’ *ib.*

‘The Canon law expressly approves the writings of several doctors : viz. 1. Those of the blessed Cyprian, Martyr and bishop of Carthage : 2. those of the blessed Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria : 3. those of the blessed Gregory, bishop of Nazianzen : 4. those of the blessed Basil, bishop of Cappadocia : 5. those of the blessed John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople : 6. those of the blessed Hilary, bishop of Poitiers : 7. those of the blessed Augustin, bishop of Hippo : 8. those of the blessed Ambrose, bishop of Milan : 9. those of the blessed Jerome, Presbyter : 10. those of Prosper, a most religious man : 11. the epistle of the blessed Leo to Flavian, the bishop of Constantinople, whose text, even to a tittle, if any laic or illiterate person disputes, and does not receive it with reverence in all things, let him be accursed : 12. those writings of Ruffinus and of Origen, which the blessed Jerome does not reject : 13. those of Orosius, a very learned man : 14. those of the venerable Sedulius : 15. those of Vincent : 16. those of Eusebius of Cesarea, with some restriction : 17. those of the blessed Cyril which are received by the fifth General Council : 18. those of blessed Isidore.’ (3)

(3) ‘ Non paucorum Scripta Doctorum Canon expressè approbat.’
—‘ Non aliorum Scripta expressè probat Canon, quàm istorum.

1. Beati Cypriani martyris et Carthaginensis Episcopi. 2. Beati Athanasii Alexandrini Episcopi. 3. Beati Gregorii Nazianzeni Episcopi. 4. Beati Basilii Cappadociæ Episcopi. 5. Beati Joannis Constantinopolitani Episcopi. 6. Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi. 7. Beati Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi. 8. Beati Hieronymi Presbyteri. 10. Prosperi viri religiosissimi. 11. Epistolam Beati Leonis ad Flavianum Constantinopolitanum Episcopum destinatum, cujus textum aut unum iota, si quisquam idiota disputaverit, et non eam in omnibus venerabiliter acceperit, Anathema sit. 12. Rufini et Origenis quæ beatus Hieronymus non repudiat. 13. Orosii viri eruditissimi. 14. Venerabilis viri Sedulii. 15. Vincentii. 16. Eusebii Cæsariensis cum quâdam

Besides these fathers whom your canon law thus expressly names, it pronounces a general approbation of all the orthodox fathers, and of all that Jerome approves, although in some respects he may have seen cause to blame them. Indeed the judgment of Jerome is cardinal with you. He is called, in your canon law, *most blessed*, while the other fathers are called *blessed* only, and in Origen, Ruffinus and others, his censure is taken as the index to that which should be condemned, by the plain sentence of Pope Gelasius, who flourished in the fifth century. From the catalogue, therefore, which Jerome himself furnishes, I take my authority for some others of the fathers, which I shall have occasion to cite, and I mention them now, in order that the groundwork may be firmly settled before I proceed. They are as follows; viz:

Irenæus, mentioned by Jerome, with great commendation, the bishop of Lyons, whose books were published about A. D. 170. (6)

Clement of Alexandria, the master of the famous Catechetical school after Pantaenus, whose books Jerome calls 'admirable volumes full of erudition and eloquence, taken both from the Holy Scriptures, and from secular literature.' (7)

restrictione. 17. Beati Cyrilli opera a quinto Concilio Generali recepta. 18. Sancti Isidori.' ib. Tit. 5. p. 12.

(6) 'Irenæus Pothini Episcopi, qui Lugdunensem in Gallia regebat ecclesiam presbyter, a martyribus ejusdem loci ob quasdam ecclesiae quæstiones legatus Romam missus, honorificas super nomine suo ad Eleutherium Episcopum perfert literas. Postea jam Pothino propè nonagenario, ob Christum martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur. Scripsit quinque adversus hæreses libros.' &c. Sanct. Hieron. op. om. Ed. 1684. Tom. 1. p. 180. B.

(7) Clemens Alexandriae Ecclesiæ presbyter, Panteani auditor, post ejus mortem Alexandriae ecclesiasticam scholam tenuit, et κατηγορῶν magister fuit. Feruntur ejus insignia volumina, plenaque eruditionis et eloquentiæ, tam de Scripturis divinis, quam de secularis literaturæ instrumento. E quibus illa sunt, ἑρωματεῖς libri octo, &c. ib. 181. B.

Tertullian, the profound and learned presbyter of Carthage, who flourished about A. D. 200. and whose works were the favorite study of St. Cyprian. Jerome records the fact that Cyprian never passed a day without reading this author, and frequently called him 'the master.' He fell, however, towards the close of his life, into the error of Montanus, whom he followed as being an incarnation of the Holy Spirit, and Jerome attributes his lapse to the envy and reproaches of the Roman Clergy. Hence there are some parts of his works that you receive with approbation, namely those which were written previous to his adoption of the error of Montanus; but those which were written afterwards you reject. In quoting from this writer, I shall not forget this distinction: nevertheless, there are some things even in his rejected pages worthy of attention. (8)

Lactantius is another ecclesiastical writer, mentioned by Jerome with approbation, and celebrated, as you know, for the remarkable beauty of his style, from whom I shall draw some testimony, on the points to be discussed. (9) The

(8) 'Tertullianus presbyter—provinciae Africae, civitatis Carthaginiensis, patre Centurione proconsulari. Hic acris et vehementis ingenii,—multa scripsit volumina, quæ quia nota sunt pluribus, prætermittimus. Vidi ego quendam Paulum Concordiæ, quod oppidum Italiæ est, senem, qui se beati Cypriani jam grandis ætatis notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adolescens, Romæ vidisse diceret, referreque sibi solitum, nunquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unam diem prætermisisse, ac sibi crebro dicere: Da magistrum: Tertullianum videlicet significans. Hic cum usque ad mediam ætatem presbyter ecclesiæ permansisset, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum Romanæ ecclesiæ, ad Montani dogma delapsus, in multis libris novæ prophetiæ meminit, specialiter autem adversum ecclesiam texuit volumina De Pudicitia, De Persecutione, De jejuniis, De monogamia, De ectasi libros sex, et septimum quem adversum Apollonium composuit. Ferturque vixisse usque ad decrepitam ætatem, et multa quæ non extant opuscula condidisse.' *ib.* p. 183.

(9) 'Firminianus, qui et Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus.——Ni-

editions of the Councils which I shall use, are your admirable collections by Hardouin and Mansi. When I have occasion to speak of your rites and ceremonies, I shall cite your Picard, and I shall quote largely from the celebrated declaration of the Clergy of France, put forth by the powerful and masterly genius of your famous Bossuet, the illustrious bishop of Meaux.

There are three books more, to which I shall have recourse for your doctrine. The first is the very superior Body of Divinity, consisting of the Prælections of Tournely, arranged by Collet, one of your best standards; the Venetian edition of A. D. 1751. The second is Dr. Chalonner's Catholic Christian, and the third is the well known abridgment commonly called the Doway Catechism, composed originally in 1649 by the Rev. Henry Tuberville of your college at Doway, generally used by the Roman Catholics of the British empire, and lately recommended by the Right Rev. Benedict, Bishop of Boston. The American stereotype edition of 1833, is the copy before me. The edition of the holy Scriptures from which my quotations shall, for the most part, be made, is your own version, put forth by the same college at Doway, first stereotype from the fifth Dublin edition, published in 1824, with notes and comments.

Besides the above, however, I shall consider myself bound to notice some other relics of antiquity, viz. the writings of the Apostolic fathers, the Apostolic Canons, and the Apostolical Constitutions. I shall also comment occasion-

comediæ Rhetoricam docuit.—Habemus ejus symposium, quod adolescentulus scripsit, ὀδοιπορικόν de Aphrica ad Nicomædiam, hexametris scriptum versibus, et alium librum qui inscribitur Grammaticus, et pulcherrimum de ira Dei, et institutionum divinarum adversum gentes libros septem, &c. ib. p. 189.

ally on those unquestionable frauds, such as the Decretal epistles and others, which will unavoidably present themselves in the path which lies before me; and in all such cases, I shall cite the opinion of your most distinguished scholars, as a justification of my own. That the plan of my work will call for many repetitions, will be pardoned, I trust, from the nature of my undertaking. But I can, at least, promise that nothing shall be taken at second hand—nothing shall be presented out of its true connexion; and if I cannot shew from these, your own authorities, that the Church of Rome has changed her original polity, and that the Primitive Church of Rome would have corresponded far more closely with ourselves, I will forthwith conform to your standard, and publicly confess my error. ~

CHAPTER III.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The change of your Primitive doctrine, to the examination of which this volume is chiefly devoted, is in your definition of 'The Holy Catholic Church,' which you make inseparably dependent upon the Church of Rome, although it anciently signified, and still in truth signifies, The Church General, or Universal, without regard to any particular diocese or city.

Your claims on this head consist in the allegation, that our great Redeemer constituted St. Peter the prince of the Apostles, and gave him a right of government and authority over the rest, which right he bequeathed to his successor, the bishop or Pope of Rome, who thereby became the VICAR OF CHRIST, *and the head of the whole Christian Church throughout the world.* (10)

This position you undertake to establish, first, from the twenty-first chapter of St. John's gospel, where Christ, as you state in your Doway Catechism, (p. 20.) 'gave St. Peter absolute power to feed and govern his whole flock, saying, Feed my lambs, feed my sheep: therefore the rest

(10) Thus the Doway Catechism. p. 20, declares that 'The Church is the Congregation of all the faithful under Jesus Christ, their invisible head, and his vicar upon earth, the Pope.'

of the Apostles were his sheep, and he their head or pastor.'

'Secondly,' according to this Catechism, 'out of St. Matt. xvi. 18. when Christ saith, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church. Therefore the rest of the apostles were built on him.'

Thirdly, 'Because,' as saith the same Catechism, (p. 25) 'since the translation of St. Peter's chair from Antioch to Rome, the particular Roman Church has been head of all the Churches, and to her the primacy has been affixed.'

Hence, in defining the *essential parts* of the Church, (p. 20) the same Catechism declares that the Church consists of 'A Pope or supreme head, bishops, pastors and laity,' and in full consistency with this, we read in the next page that 'he who is not in due connexion and subordination to the Pope and General Councils, must needs be dead, and cannot be accounted a member of the Church, since FROM *the Pope and general councils, under Christ, we have our Spiritual life and motion, as Christians!*'

I attach importance to this Catechism, not because of its intrinsic dignity, but because it is the text book from which, throughout great Britain and the United States, you instruct your flocks. Besides which, it gives the latest statement of your doctrine; and therefore, it is to be presumed, the most moderate and least offensive in your own opinion. Let me next proceed, however, to make some stronger extracts from your Canon law.

'The Pope,' says your Canon, 'by the Lord's appointment, is the successor of the blessed Apostle Peter, and holds the place of the Redeemer himself upon the earth.' (11)

(11) *Beati Petri Apostoli, disponente Domino, Papa est successor, et ipsius Redemptoris locum in terris tenet.* Corp. Jur. Can. Joan. Gib. Tom. 2. p. 6.

‘The Roman Church, by the appointment of our Lord, is the mother and mistress of all the faithful.’ (12)

‘The Roman Pontiff bears the authority not of a mere man, but of the true God upon the earth.’ (13)

‘The Pope holds the place of God in the earth, so that he can confer ecclesiastical benefices without diminution.’ (14)

‘Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, gave to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of Peter, the plenitude of power.’ (15)

‘To the Holy Roman Church, as to the mother and head, all the greater causes of the Church may recur, and receive their decision according to her sentence; nor ought any thing to be decreed in these without the Roman Pontiff.’ (16)

‘The greater causes of the Church, especially those which concern the articles of faith, are to be referred to the seat of Peter.’ (17)

‘The translation, the deposition or resignation of a bishop,

(12) ‘Romana Ecclesia, disponente Domino, cunctorum fidelium Mater est et Magistra.’ *ib.* p. 8.

(13) ‘Romanus Pontifex non puri hominis; sed veri Dei vicem gerit in terris.’ *ib.* p. 9.

(14) ‘Papa locum Dei tenet in terris, ut Ecclesiastica Beneficia sine diminutione conferat.’ *ib.*

(15) ‘Plenitudinem potestatis Christus Rex regum et Dominus dominantium Romano Pontifici in persona Petri concessit.’ *ib.* p. 10.

(16.) ‘Ad sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, quasi ad matrem, atque apicem, omnes majores Ecclesiæ causæ recurrant, et juxtà ejus sententiam terminum sumant; nec extra Romanum quidquam ex his debeat decerni Pontificem.’ *ib.* p. 12.

(17) ‘Majores Ecclesiæ causas. præsortim articulos fidei contingentes, ad Petri sedem referendas’.—*ib.* p. 12.

is reserved to the Roman Pontiff alone, not so much by any canonical constitution, as by the divine institution.' (18).

'As the translation, the deposition, and resignation of bishops, so likewise the confirmation of those who are elected, after their election, is reserved to the Roman Pontiff alone, by reason of the spiritual bond.' (19).

'Although miracles may have been performed by any one, yet it is not lawful to venerate him as a saint, without the authority of the Roman Church.' (20)

'Whenever there is any question concerning the privileges of the Apostolic chair, they are not to be judged by others. The Pope alone knows how to determine doubts concerning the privileges of the chief Apostolic seat.' (21)

'To make one episcopal seat subject to another, or to place one before another, or to unite two dioceses into one, or divide one into two, are things reserved to the Primacy, (i. e., the Chief Pontiff,) alone.' (22)

'It was becoming, since the Chief Pontiff represents the person of Christ, that as during Christ's earthly ministry the Apostles stood round him, so the assembly of the Cardi-

(18) *Translatio, depositio, aut cessio Episcopii, non tam constitutione canonica, quam institutione divina, soli sunt Romano Pontifici reservata.* ib. p. 13.

(19) *Sicut Episcoporum translatio, depositio, et cessio, sic et electorum post electionem confirmatio, spiritualis ratione conjugii, soli est Romano Pontifici reservata.* ib. p. 13.

(20) *Etiamsi per aliquem miracula fierent, non liceret ipsum pro sancto, absque autoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ, venerari.* ib.

(21.) *Cùm super privilegiis sedis Apostolicæ causæ vertitur; de ipsis per alios non judicatur. — Solus Papa cognoscit de dubiis privilegiorum sedis Apostolicæ summæ.* ib. p. 13.

(22.) *Sunt tantùm summo Pontifici reservata: unam Episcopalem Ecclesiam subjicere alteri, et illam præficere isti; concesso sibi privilegio Primatiæ, atque duos Episcopatus unire, vel unum dividere.* ib. p. 13.

nals representing the Apostolic college, should stand before the Pope ; but the rest of the bishops, scattered abroad every where, represent the apostles sent forth to preach the gospel.' (23)

These extracts may suffice for the present, to prove the nature and effect of the prerogatives with which you invest the Church and the Pontiff of Rome. His powers in reference to Councils, will be reserved for a future chapter. Let me now proceed to prove that you have changed your primitive doctrine, by shewing what the Scriptures, the ancient fathers, and the first General Council, declare upon the matter. And, here, brethren, I must bespeak your patient attention. The witnesses are numerous, and the examination must be thorough, if we would hope to be rewarded by the discovery of truth. When this preliminary labor is accomplished, I shall examine the two conflicting theories concerning the limits of Papal power, which have excited so much serious controversy amongst yourselves ; and shall shew, as it seems to me, that the claims of your canon law on that point have never been relinquished ; but continue to represent your doctrine fairly, to this day. A few practical considerations for your sober reflection, will then bring us to the conclusion.

(23) 'Decuit, cum summus Pontifex Christi repræsentet personam, ut quemadmodum Christo conversanti in terris assistebant Apostoli, ita etiam Cardinalium cœtus Apostolicum repræsentans, coram Papa assisteret ; reliqui verò Episcopi, ubique diffusi, Apostolos repræsentant ad prædicandum per orbem missos.' ib p. 19.

CHAPTER IV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

According to the principle allowed by your own Canon law which appeals to Scripture as its fountain, I shall first examine your alleged primacy of the Apostle Peter, as it appears in this infallible oracle of truth.

You deduce your doctrine on the subject from the passage of St. Matthew, (xvi. 18) where Peter, declaring that the Redeemer was Christ, the Son of the living God, received from our Lord the gracious answer: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall also be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.'

Next, you cite the passage in St. John's Gospel, (xxi. 16 &c.) where the Saviour saith to Peter: 'Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him, Yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him, Feed my lambs.* He saith to him again: Simon, son of

*The word *lambs*, here, ought to be *sheep*: see your own Montanus, and the margin of your vulgate. I quote it, however, as it stands in your Doway version, as I am pledged to do.

John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: Yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he said to him the third time, lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him, Feed my sheep.'

Upon the first of these texts, your Doway version has this note: 'The words of Christ to Peter, spoken in the vulgar language of the Jews which our Lord made use of, were the same as if he had said in English, *Thou art a rock, and upon this rock, I will build my Church.* So that by the plain course of the words, Peter is here declared to be the rock upon which the Church was to be built, Christ himself being both the principal foundation and founder of the same.'

I shall cite to you, by and by, in their proper place, many authorities from the primitive fathers mentioned in your own Canon law, to prove that they gave no such interpretation to these texts; from which the inference may be safely drawn that the primitive Church of Rome did not hold your doctrine. But meanwhile, the importance of the subject demands a critical examination of the first text especially, in which I shall have no difficulty in shewing how very far your commentary has strayed from the true laws of interpretation.

You tell us, in the note which I have quoted from your Doway version, what our Lord must have said '*in the vulgar language of the Jews.*' For what purpose is this, brethren? Do you mean that the original Gospel which is in the Greek, is not our only sure authority? True, indeed, it was supposed by some of the ancients, that the gospel according to St. Matthew was first written in Hebrew, and

afterwards translated into Greek; but you know perfectly that there is no positive evidence of this fact, and that the Christian Church throughout the world possesses no other original of St. Matthew's gospel than the Greek in which all the rest of the New Testament Scriptures were written. You surely, then, would not lead us from this faithful record, to the imaginary words which our Lord *might have* used in Hebrew: nor can you argue the point on any other ground than the Greek text would justify, without prostrating the whole authority of the Book of God.

But we are happy in the aid which we derive in this point of controversy, from your own Latin Vulgate, declared, by your Council of Trent, to be authentic, so that 'no one may dare or presume to reject it, under any pretext whatsoever.*' And therefore, leaving the fanciful notion of what our Saviour might have said in Hebrew, to the actual record of what he did say, as it stands in the Greek, and in your own accredited Latin, let us examine whether your Doway Commentary is tenable.

In the Greek the words are: *συ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*

In the Latin Vulgate: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.*

Now the closest version of the Greek in English would be: Thou art a stone, and on this rock I will build my Church. But to preserve at once, the true idea of the original, and also the play upon the name, is not possible in any modern language. To make the Greek and the Latin

*Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum.—Sacrosancta Synodus——statuit et declarat ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat. Concil. Hard. tom. x. p. 23.

accord with your Commentary, you know perfectly well, brethren, that an alteration of the phraseology would be necessary. Thus, in the Greek, our Lord does not say : ἐπι ταύτῳ τῷ πέτρῳ, but ἐπι ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, recurring to the radical word which is of a different gender. Πέτρα is the root, signifying a rock, which rock was Christ. Πετρᾶιος is the adjective, signifying rocky or stony. And πέτρος, the name given to Peter, signifies a stone, and sometimes a rock in a diminutive sense, being derived from πέτρα. Therefore, as I shall shew you in due time, the fathers held that Peter received his name from the rock, just as the believer is called Christian from Christ. In like manner, your Latin Vulgate stands opposed to your Doway Commentary, and would require an alteration in its language, before it could be made to correspond with your doctrine. Instead of : *Tu es Petrus*, it would be necessary to write it : *Tu es Petra, et super hanc petram*, &c. So that in both these authoritative records, *Peter* is one word of the masculine gender, and *the rock* is a different word, of the feminine gender ; and yet you ask us to believe that they are both the same.

I have before me several versions of this passage, which it may be not altogether useless to cite, before we leave it. The turn of thought in the original is instructive and beautiful, but it does not admit of a faithful rendering in many languages ; for Peter became a proper name, which could only shew its relation to the rock in those languages where the term rock was derived from the Grecian fountain. Thus in the German version of the passage, we read : *Du bist Petrus, und auf diesen Felsen will ich bauen meine Gemeinde*. Here, as in the English, the turn of the original is altogether lost, for the structure of the German did not allow of its being translated.

In the French, on the contrary, the correspondence of the name is made so perfect, that equal injury in another respect is done to the original meaning. *Tu es Pierre, et sur cette pierre je batirai mon Eglise.* Literally: Thou art Peter, and on this stone I will build my Church. In this version the Church is truly built on Peter, but the rock is omitted altogether.

In the Italian and the Spanish, the versions are more true to the original. Thus in the Italian: *Tu sei Pietro, e sopra questa pietra io edifichero la mia chiesa.*

And in the Spanish: *Tu eres Pedro, y sobre esta piedra edificaré mi Iglesia.* The fidelity of the Latin Vulgate is well retained in both these versions, but out of the whole seven languages, brethren, you see that there is not one which justifies your Doway Commentary. The French approaches the nearest to it, but there, as I have shewn you, instead of changing Peter into the rock, you have changed the rock into a stone, in order to make it agree with Peter.

Plainly, then, as it seems to me, by no fair process of interpretation, can this celebrated text be made to support the supremacy of Peter. The Apostle was blest with the privilege of being a stone, yea, a foundation stone in the edifice of Christ's Church. But he was not the foundation—the rock—on which the Church was built. That rock was the Redeemer; 'For no one can lay another foundation,' as your own version expresses it, (1 COR. III. 11.) 'but that which is laid: which is Christ Jesus.'

But there is a strange error based upon a text in the Gospel of St. John, which several of the popes of Rome have advanced, in their solicitude to find authority for their favorite doctrine. It is thus stated by Vigilus in a letter to Eleutherius:

‘ Although the election of all the Apostles was the same, yet it was granted to the blessed Peter that he should be raised above the rest, whence he was called Cephas, because he was the head and the first of all the Apostles, and what precedes in the head, must necessarily be followed in the members.’* And again, in one of the supposititious decretal epistles, attributed to Pope Anacletus, ‘ It was granted to Peter that he should go before the others as Cephas, and chief of the Apostolate,’ and the same idea occurs many times, being justified ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, as they tell us.†

Now this assertion is peculiarly unfortunate, for it is directly opposed to the Apostle John, and to the plain meaning of the language to which the word belongs. For the expression used by our Lord is this: ‘ *Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter* ’ In the Greek this latter name is πέτρος, signifying a stone, as has been explained already; in the Latin, Petrus: in English, Peter. But the name Cephas is a Hebrew word; and hence St. John, here, as in some other places, sets down the Hebrew first, and then adds the Greek interpretation. Our Lord did not give the Apostle two new names, but one. It appears to us in two shapes, indeed, because the Saviour spoke in Hebrew, and St. John wrote in Greek, but they have the same signification. The true original, therefore, of this celebrated name is כֶּפֶה (kepha) the Hebrew word signifying a stone, derived from קֶפֶה (kiph) a rock. From this simple explanation, it is plain that the

* Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. p. 75. ‘ Quoniam licet omnium apostolorum par electio, Beato Petro tamen concessum est, ut ceteris praemineret: unde et Cephas vocatur, quia caput et primus est omnium Apostolorum: et quod in capite praecessit in membris sequi necessum est.’

† Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. 617.

passage, properly understood, has no imaginable connexion with the doctrine which has vainly sought support from it. Doubtless, brethren, most of you know this; but still, the extravagance is found in your books, without any corrective, and as it might mislead some ignorant minds, it is perhaps as well to mention it.

Let us now proceed to ascertain how far your doctrine accords with the other evidence of Scripture.

First, then, we read of many occasions in which the Apostles were anxious about the point of supremacy, but in every instance the Redeemer discouraged them, and inculcated an humble equality. Thus, (Mat. xx. 25.) ‘when the mother of James and John desired a superior place for her sons, and the other Apostles were moved with indignation, it is recorded that ‘Jesus called them to him and said; You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that are the greater, exercise power upon them. **IT SHALL NOT BE SO AMONG YOU:** but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister; and he who would be the first among you, shall be your servant.’

Again, (Mat. xxiii. 8.) warning his Apostles against the love of superior station, he saith ‘Be ye not called Rabbi. For one is your master, and **ALL YOU ARE BRETHERN.**’

Again, (Luke ix. 46.) we read that ‘there entered a thought into them, which of them should be the greater. But Jesus, seeing the thoughts of their heart, took a child and set him by him; and said to them: Whosoever shall receive this child in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth him that sent me. For he that is the least among you all, he is the greatest.’

Again, (Luke xxi. 24.) ‘There was a strife amongst them, which of them should seem to be greater. And he

said to them: The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them, and they that have power over them are called beneficent. But you not so: but he who is the greatest among you, let him be as the least, and he that is the leader as he that serveth. For which is greater, he that sitteth at table, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth. And you are they who have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint to you, as my Father hath appointed to me, a kingdom. That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'

Now all these instances are related as occurring *subsequently* to the gift of the keys to Peter, and the promise that the Church should be built on the rock, &c. which you interpret to be the grant of his supremacy. So that neither Peter nor his brethren could have understood this promise of Christ as you do; for if they had, they surely would not afterwards have disputed which of them should be the greatest. They must have looked on that question as perfectly settled in Peter's favor, and would have regarded him with deference accordingly. Neither does our Lord's language agree with your doctrine; for instead of discouraging the whole inquiry, and inculcating fraternal equality amongst them, he would, as it seems to me, on your supposition, have reprov'd their want of acquiescence in his declared will, and have reminded them that he had constituted Peter the *Governor and Chief* already.

But this is not the whole of the Scriptural objection to your notion of Peter's supremacy. For in the twentieth Chapter of St. John's Gospel we read (22. v.) that after our Lord's resurrection he came into the room where the disciples were gathered together, and said to them: 'Peace be

to you. As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose you shall retain, they are retained.' Now I ask you, was not Peter included in this solemn transaction? The power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, you allow to be the power of remitting sin, or authoritatively pronouncing forgiveness. This grant was indeed first *promised* to Peter: but was it actually conferred on him, until the Saviour gave the spiritual faculty, by breathing on him and saying; Receive ye the Holy Ghost? And in this actual conferring of the power, are not the other Apostles included, without distinction or difference? Hence, as the character of an office is not to be determined by the time when it was first promised, but by the rights actually conferred, it seems abundantly evident that this passage decides the whole controversy. Peter indeed was the first to acknowledge Christ, and therefore he was the first to receive the promise of the apostolic commission. But as in the parable of the householder the Lord said: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee; so, when we come to the actual conferring of the Spiritual faculty, by which alone the power of binding and loosing can be exercised, we find no difference between the first and the last. All the apostles are breathed upon; All receive the Holy Ghost: to all it is said: Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained. Peter has his part among the rest in the powers of this high commission, but there is no more hint of any supremacy over his brethren in its exercise, than there is in the promise of the final reward where the Redeemer had said, that the apostles should sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

To that part of your theory which claims St. Pe-

ter as the first bishop of Rome, there is an objection in the very terms of the Saviour's charge, recorded in St. Mark's gospel ; (xvi. 15.) 'Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' For it is perfectly evident that this precept could not consist with the apostles' confining themselves to a particular diocese as you say St. Peter did, for seven years to Antioch, and twenty five to Rome. The whole world was the field committed to thirteen chief laborers ; and it seems hard to suppose that any one of them was authorized or intended to fix himself in a particular city as its bishop for such a length of time. In accordance with this remark, I shall presently cite to you, from Irenæus, the oldest list of the bishops of Rome extant, in which Linus, and not St Peter, is set down as the first bishop of that city.

But passing over this point, let us proceed to ascertain how the rest of the Scripture evidence accords with your doctrine that St. Peter was the Chief Ruler and Governor of the other Apostles. And here we shall find many difficulties in the way of your hypothesis, which I confess myself unable to solve.

In that invaluable record called the Acts of the Apostles, Peter appears prominently on several important occasions, as a speaker, a preacher, and a worker of miracles : but in no instance does he appear to assert or to exercise any superior power or dominion, such as you claim for the bishop of Rome over the other bishops. So far from it, that on some of these occasions he looks like one more ruled than ruling. Thus, when the conversion of the Samaritans, through the ministry of Philip, was made known to the Apostles who were in Jerusalem, (Acts, viii. 14.) 'they sent to them Peter and John.' Here is an inversion of authority. Instead of Peter sending the other Apostles, they sent him. Again,

(Acts, xi. 2.) when Peter returned from the conversion and baptism of Cornelius, and 'was come up to Jerusalem, they who were of the circumcision disputed against him;' and Peter explains the whole matter, concluding in the 17th verse by saying: 'Who was I, that I could oppose God?' Neither he nor his accusers, on this occasion, seem to have had any notion of his superior dignity, as 'bearing the person of Christ upon earth,' in the words of your Canon law, and being the Chief Ruler and Governor, to whom, in the gift of the keys, 'the plenitude of power' was granted, according to your Doway Commentary.

Again, (Acts xv.) we read that the Apostles and elders came together to consider of the question, whether the gentile converts should be bound by the ceremonial law: and this is what is commonly called, the first Apostolic Council. But if it is to serve, according to your doctrine, as the example and warrant by which the other Councils of the Church should still be holden, the place of Peter seems strangely inconsistent with the authority claimed for him by the bishop of Rome. For he does not appear to have summoned this Council, nor to have presided in it, nor to have opened its proceedings, nor to have framed its definitive decree, nor to have performed any subsequent act of formal approbation. 'The Apostles and ancients came together'—'When there was much disputing, Peter rose up and said,' &c. After he had concluded his address, Barnabas and Paul (v. 12.) related 'what great signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.' 'And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying: Men, brethren, hear me. Simon hath told in what manner God first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people to his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets, as it is written,' &c. 'Wherefore *I judge,*' continues the Apostle James, (19th

v.) 'that they who from among the Gentiles are converted to God, are not to be disquieted.' &c. '*Then it pleased the Apostles and ancients, with the whole Church, to choose men of their own company, and to send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas: Judas who was surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren, writing by their hand: The apostles and ancients, brethren, to the brethren of the Gentiles, greeting.*' &c. Now in all this transaction, where is the least appearance of Peter's supremacy? What is there that looks like the assertion of your Doway Catechism, that 'the rest of the apostles were Peter's sheep, and he their head or pastor?' What is there that looks like Peter's 'holding the place of the Redeemer himself upon the earth,' and 'bearing the authority, not of a mere man, but of the true God,' in the language of your Canon law?

But the evidence of Scripture does not rest here. We find the whole of the remaining chapters of the book of the Acts, devoted chiefly to the labors of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and Peter is hardly named again. Nor, if we take the record of the sacred history in its own integrity, does there seem any room to question, that if any supremacy had been conferred on one Apostle above the others, the claim of Paul to that supremacy stands on by far the stronger ground. Peter was indeed called first, and Paul last, but it is not inconsistent with the divine government, that the first should be last, and the last first, and that the elder should serve the younger. The call of Peter was like that of the other Apostles, but Paul was converted by a vision, and called in connexion with a miracle. His labors, his gifts, his sufferings, his share in the epistolary portion of the New Testament, his comprehensive, deep, and truly extraordinary knowledge of divine truth, his being

raised up into heaven, where he heard things not lawful for man to utter—take the whole together, brethren, and surely it cannot be disputed, that the weight of the Scriptural evidence is greatly in his favor.

There are two points, however, which seem conclusive to my mind on this branch of our subject; one, that St. Paul himself allows no supremacy to St. Peter: the other, that the Book of the Acts clearly makes him, and not St. Peter, the first founder of the Church at Rome.

On the first of these points, let us hear St. Paul himself in his epistle to the Galatians. (i. 15.) ‘When it pleased him,’ saith this great Apostle, ‘who separated me from my mother’s womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles, immediately *I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I to Jerusalem to the Apostles who were before me; but I went into Arabia, and again I returned to Damascus. Then, three years after, I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and stayed with him fifteen days: but other of the Apostles I saw none, except James, the brother of the Lord.*’ ‘Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up according to revelation, and communicated the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles; but apart to them who seemed to be something; lest perhaps, I should run, or had run in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised, but because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privately to spy our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage. To whom *we yielded not by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you.*’ (Gal. ii. 1—5.)

‘But of them who seemed to be something,’ continues

the Apostle, ' (what they were some time, it is nothing to me ; God accepteth not the person of man) for to me, *they that seemed to be something, added nothing.* But on the contrary, when they had seen that *to me was committed the Gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision ;* (for he who wrought in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also among the Gentiles :) And when they had known the grace that was given to me, *James and Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship : that we should go the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision.*' ' But when Cephas was come to Antioch, *I withstood him to the face, because he was blameable.* For before that some came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles ; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, *fearing those of the circumcision.* And to his dissimulation the rest of the Jews consented ; so that Barnabas also was led by them into that dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel, I said to Cephas, before them all ; If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews, how dost thou compel the Gentiles to follow the way of the Jews ?'

Now, I ask you, brethren, to ponder these extracts from the writings of St. Paul, and see how totally incompatible they are with your doctrine of St. Peter's supremacy. Here is this great teacher, whom the fathers so continually call the ' elect vessel,' following the Apostleship for three years without conferring at all with the other Apostles ; then visiting Peter, of whom he speaks without any note of distinction : then fourteen years after, visiting Jerusalem again, mentioning those who seemed to be something, with an express denial that they added any thing to him, and as ex-

press a declaration, that the chief care of the Gentiles was committed to him, as the chief care of the Jewish converts was to Peter : then speaking of Peter, along with James, and John, as pillars, but, (observe it, brethren) not even giving the first place to Peter, but to James : then taxing Peter with inconsistency, and withstanding him to the face, and openly rebuking him for his dissimulation, expressly declaring that Peter feared them of the circumcision,—and I pray you, say, whether it is possible to conceive that St. Paul knew, all this time, that he was writing about the Ruler and Governor of the whole Church, the Prince of the Apostles, with respect to whom the other Apostles were sheep, and he their head and pastor ; yea, who represented the person of Christ himself upon the earth, and exercised the authority, not of a mere man, but of the true God. These words, which are the very expressions of your Doway Catechism and your Canon law, have only to be compared in sober sincerity with the epistle to the Galatians, to convince any candid mind, as it seems to me, of their total inconsistency. And as the Apostle Paul knew the mind of the Spirit, and the polity of Christ's Church, with the unerring certainty of inspiration, his testimony surely should be decisive.

On the other point, viz. that Paul, and not Peter, was the first founder of the Church of Rome, the Book of the Acts is clear and positive. For we read (xix. 21.) that ' Paul purposed in the Spirit, as soon as he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying : After I have been there I must also see Rome.' Again, (Ch. xxiii. 11.) the Lord standing by him said : ' Be constant ; for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.' Then in the 28th Chapter, his arrival in that city is related, with many interesting particulars,

and the book ends with stating that ' he remained there two whole years in his own hired lodging, and received all that came in to him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, without prohibition.' With what success his labors were attended, we learn from his epistle to the Romans, (i. 8.) where he saith, ' I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ for you all ; because your faith is spoken of in the whole world.' Now inasmuch as St. Paul was in an especial manner the Apostle of the Gentiles—as James, Peter and John had given to him the right hand of fellowship, (Gal. ii.) and it was settled between them that they should go to the Jews, and he to the Gentiles—as Rome was the chief city of the Gentiles, and Paul purposed ' in the Spirit,' that is, by divine suggestion, to go there,—as he was encouraged in his purpose by a vision, and safely conducted on his way, and preached successfully two years, while not one word appears of Peter's labors in that quarter,—I have certainly the fullest evidence that the Lord appointed him and not Peter to that special work, and that the Holy Spirit, in dictating to the Evangelist Luke what circumstances should be handed down to the Church in the inspired history of the Acts of the Apostles, thought it good to record this important fact, to be a standing memorial to the end of time. That after all this, brethren, St. Paul should be made to act a secondary part to St. Peter in founding the Church of Rome, and that the sacred oracles should thus become subordinate to the testimony of tradition, is only one of many strange things which meet the eye of investigation, when employed upon the subject of your exclusive claims.

To conclude this branch of the evidence, it may be necessary to remind you, that in the two epistles of St. Peter

there is not one word of intimation on the supreme rule and government supposed to be conferred on him. In St. Paul's epistles, we have several strong allusions to the Apostolic rod, and the delivering persons to Satan as a consequence of his ecclesiastical judgment. And St. John refers very plainly to his authority where he speaks of Diotrophes. But St. Peter neither speaks of his powers himself, nor does any other Apostolic writer speak of them for him; so that the whole tenor of Scripture seems, to my mind, irreconcilably hostile to your doctrine. Some of the proof is positive, some negative, some circumstantial; but the result, one would suppose, could hardly be mistaken. And yet, you make this very doctrine an article of faith, necessary to salvation! Have you never wondered, brethren, that the Acts of the Apostles, and the twenty-one epistles of the New Testament, should contain so much that might have been omitted, in the rich abundance of their treasures, while yet the supremacy of Peter, although essential, as you imagine, to the very being of the Church, should have been so strangely passed by?

CHAPTER V.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The first writings which your voluminous works on the Councils of the Church offer to their readers, are the Apostolical canons, the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Decretal epistles of the early bishops of Rome.

Of the first of these, the Apostolical Canons, your authors, as you are aware, speak with high respect. They do not indeed, consider them the true productions of the Apostles; but yet they are supposed to be recognized by the Councils, and are therefore entitled to great regard. (28) Be this supposition right or wrong, it is enough for our present purpose to state the fact, that not one of the eighty-four Canons according to one version, or the fifty according to another, furnishes the slightest warrant for your claims to universal dominion. They speak largely of the bishop, priest and deacon, but not a word of Peter's supremacy, of the high prerogatives of the Roman bishop, of the mother and mistress Church of Rome, or of any thing which resembles in the least your present doctrine. To shew, however,

(28) Of the Apostolical Canons, Dionysius Exiguus says: (see Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. p. 3.) 'In principio canones qui dicuntur Apostolorum, de Græco transtulimus, quibus plurimi consensum non præbuere facilem.' And Isidorus Mercator says, (ib. p. 6.) 'Denique propter eorum auctoritatem cæteris conciliis præposuimus canones, qui dicuntur apostolorum, licet a quibusdam apocryphi dicantur.'

distinctly, my authority for this assertion, it may be as well to quote those Canons which exhibit the genuine ecclesiastical polity of the primitive day.

Thus, Canon 13th (in the Greek code) stands thus : ' It is not lawful for a bishop to leave his diocese in order to take charge of another, even although he is constrained by many : unless it be for some reasonable cause, as for the greater gain which he may confer on the inhabitants thereof in respect of piety, and this shall not be decided upon by himself, but by *the great exhortation of many bishops.*' (29.)

You remember, brethren, that your Canon submits the translation of bishops to the Pope alone. Here it is submitted to the judgment of *many bishops*, of course, to a council. The difference is too manifest to be mistaken.

The thirty-third Canon gives us a further proof of the same kind. ' It is necessary that the bishops of each nation should know him who is first amongst them, and esteem him as their head ; and that they should do nothing of difficulty or of great moment, without his opinion ; and each of them should take heed to do those things which belong to his own diocese, and to the villages which are under his authority. But neither should the primate do any thing without the opinion of all. For thus shall concord continue, and God will be glorified, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' (30.)

(29) Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. p. 31. ' Episcopo non liceat sua relicta parochia ad aliam transilire, etiamsi a pluribus cogatur : nisi sit aliqua causa rationi consentanea, quae eum cogat hoc facere, utpote ad majus lucrum, cum possit ipse iis, qui illic habitant, pietatis verbo conferre ; idque non ex se, sed multorum episcoporum judicio et maxima exhortatione.'

(30) Ibid. 35. ' Episcopos uniuscujusque gentis nosse oportet eum qui in eis est primus, et existimare ut caput : et nihil facere, quod sit

The comment of Binnius himself upon this Canon, zealous as he is for your claims, interprets it rightly of the *metropolitan* bishops. 'The Council of Nice,' saith he, 'and the council of Ephesus followed these Apostolic Canons, decreeing that every bishop should *acknowledge his primate and metropolitan.*' But here is not one word of your fundamental doctrine of obedience to the supposed chief ruler, the bishop of Rome. (31.)

Once more, the thirty-sixth canon provides, that 'Twice in the year, a council of bishops shall assemble and examine amongst themselves the decrees of religion, and compose all the ecclesiastical controversies that may occur: once in the fourth week of Pentecost, and again on the twelfth day of October.' (32.)

The same principle is here carried out, viz: the determining disputes on all religious questions *in a council*, instead of taking them by appeal, according to your doctrine, before the single judgment of the Pope.

Lastly, the seventy-eighth Canon has these words: 'A bishop accused of any delinquency by men of credit, must be called to answer by the bishops: and if he appears and confesses or is convicted, he must suffer the punishment.'

arduum aut magni momenti, præter illius sententiam: illa autem facere unumquemque, quæ ad suam parochiam pertinent, et pagos qui ei subsunt. Sed nec ille absque omnium sententia aliquid agat. Sic enim erit concordia, et glorificabitur Deus per Dominum Jesum Christum.'

(31) Ibid. 61. E. 'Nicaena Synodus can. 6. et Ephesina illis actis quæ post 7. Can. edita sunt, hos canones Apostolorum sequuntur, statuentes ut singuli Episcopi suum primum et metropolitanum agnoscant,' &c.

(32) Ibid. 35. E. Bis in anno fiat episcoporum Synodus, et inter se examinent decreta religionis, et incidentes ecclesiasticas controversias componant; semel quidem quarta hebdomada pentecostes, iterum autem Hyperberetæi duodecimo.'

But if being summoned, he does not appear, let him be called the second time, by two bishops sent to him for that purpose. And if he does not obey this call, let him be summoned a third time, by two bishops more. But if he then, contumaciously despising them, does not appear, the council may pronounce against him those things which they see proved, lest he should profit by flying from judgment.' (33.)

Here is the precise course taken by the primitive Church against all the early heretics: viz. they were called before a council, and not before the Pope. So that we have the decisive testimony of this most venerable relic of antiquity, directly adverse to your doctrine. How the evidence can be fairly evaded, brethren, I confess myself unable to imagine.

(33) *ibid.* 43. 'Episcopum à viris fide dignis ob aliquid accusatum, ipsum ab episcopis vocari necesse est: et si se quidem stiterit, et confessus vel convictus sit, statuatur pœna. Si autem vocatus non paruerit, secundo etiam vocetur, missis ad ipsum episcopis duobus. Si etiam sic non obedierit, vocetur et tertio, duobus ad eum rursus missis episcopis. Si autem vel sic aspernans et contumax se non stiterit, Synodus ea quae videntur, adversus eum pronunciet, ne lucrifacere videatur, dum iudicium subterfugit.'

CHAPTER VI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The next piece of antiquity which comes under the name of the Apostles, is called the Apostolical Constitutions, and purports, as you are doubtless well aware, to be a complete body of ecclesiastical doctrine, government, and worship, set forth by all the Apostles in Council, Clement of Rome acting as their notary. This claim of Apostolic authority is universally denied by your writers; but nevertheless they warmly applaud the work, as containing nothing inconsistent with the system of the first four centuries, as being the chief fountain of ecclesiastical doctrine and practice in the Greek Church, and as being very useful, nay, necessary to be known by every one studious of Christian antiquity. Your scholars think its probable age was A. D. 309, but as it is styled apostolical, and as you present it, for that reason, amongst the earliest records of the Church, I take it as you give it to me. (34)

(34) Your learned Philip Labbe S. I. (Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. p. 254. declares the Apostolic Constitutions to be 'Uberrimum illum universi fere apud Græcos canonici juris fontem et disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ thesaurum in plerisque locupletissimum *πασαν κανονικην τάξιν*, ut docet Epiphanius, complectentem,'——'Satisque constare, nihil quicquam in iis reperivi, quod Ecclesiasticæ quatuor primorum sæculorum disciplinæ consentaneum non sit,' &c. And again, your learned Editor says: (Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. 254.) 'Constitutiones quas vocant apostolicas

For myself, I must frankly say, that I have read nothing of ancient times with such interest as these constitutions. They are rich in doctrine, in eloquence, and in forms of devotion, and curious in point of ceremonial detail. But I have searched them in vain for any trace of your doctrine on the primacy of Peter, the vicarious authority of the bishop, or the maternal dignity of the Church of Rome. So far from this is the aspect of the primitive Church presented throughout the eight books of the Apostolic Constitutions, that the most absolute equality appears in the episcopal office, and amongst the apostles themselves. A few specimens of the mode in which the subject is treated may be desirable.

The caption of the whole work is a specimen of this equality. 'The Apostles and elders, to all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, throughout the nations, Grace be to you and peace from Almighty God,' &c. (35)

Another specimen is furnished in the following passage : 'On account of these things also, we ourselves, being gathered together in one, Peter, Andrew, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew, James of Alpheus, and Lebbeus whose surname is Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias, who was elected in our number in the place of Judas, and James the

opus esse spurium, ab iis, quibus adscribuntur, apostolis, tum et ab ipsa apostolorum ætate penitus alienum, nemo Theologos modo ignorat vel dissitetur.

Ibid. 256. 'Quæ si conjecturæ admittantur, intra spatium illud, quod anno 309 et 325 concluditur, vulgatarum Constitutionum sedes figenda est.'

'Utrumque res habeat se se, utile est opus ad multa, et dogmatum nostrorum vetustati adstruendæ apprime necessarium.'

(35) *Mansi. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 274. Constitutiones quæ tribuuntur apostolis.*

'Apostoli, et presbyteri omnibus qui ex gentibus in Dominum Jesum Christum credidistis, gratia vobis, et pax ab Omnipotente Deo, &c.'

brother of our Lord, the same who is the bishop of Jerusalem, also Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles and the chosen vessel, all, I say, gathered together in one, have written to you this Catholic doctrine to support and confirm you, to whom the Episcopal office every where is entrusted. In which doctrine we set forth these things to you: that there is only one God, Almighty, and besides him there is no other, and he can only be worshipped and adored through Jesus Christ our Lord by the Holy Spirit: also, that the Holy Scriptures must be used, the Law and the Prophets, that parents must be honored, that every evil action must be avoided, that the resurrection and the judgment must be believed, that a final reward must be expected, that all creatures may be used in food, with giving of thanks, since they are of God,' &c. (36)

Another specimen of the same: 'Therefore, we, the twelve Apostles of the Lord who are together, have marked out to you the constitutions of every ecclesiastical matter, Paul, the chosen vessel, and our brother Apostle, being

(36) Ibid. Lib. vi. Cap. 14. p. 458. 'Propter quæ et ipsi nunc in unum congregati, Petrus, Andreas, Jacobus et Joannes filii Zebedæi, Philippus, Bartholomæus, Thomas et Matthæus, Jacobus Alphæi, et Lebbæus cognomento Thaddæus, Simon Chananæus, et Matthias, qui loco Judæ in numerum nostrum electus est, et Jacobus frater Domini, idemque Hierosolymitanus episcopus, item Paulus Doctor Gentium ac vas electionis, omnes, inquam, in unum congregati scripsimus vobis catholicam hanc doctrinam ad fulciendum ac confirmandum vos, quibus universalis episcopatus creditus est. In qua doctrina hæc vobis exponimus: Deum omnipotentem unum tantum esse, ac præter hunc neminem alium esse, oportereque hunc solummodo colere ac venerari per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum in Sancto Spiritu: item uti scripturis sacris, lege et prophetis, honorare parentes, omnem actionem pravam fugere, resurrectionem et judicium credere, remunerationem expectare, omnibus creaturis in cibo uti cum gratiarum actione, utpote a Deo factis,' &c.

present, and James the bishop, and the other elders and the seven deacons.'

'I, therefore, Peter, say first, that the bishop is to be ordained as we have all decreed alike already,' &c. (37)

'I, James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee, say, let the deacon proclaim:' (previous to the administration of the eucharist) 'no catechumen must approach, no one of the hearers, no one of the unbelievers, no one of the heretics,' &c. (38)

'Concerning the ordination of the presbyters, I, the beloved of the Lord, (sc. John,) lay down this constitution to you bishops: when you ordain a presbyter, O bishop, place your hand upon his head, the presbyters and deacons standing present,' &c. (39)

'But concerning the ordination of deacons, I, Philip, set forth this constitution, that you, O bishop, shall ordain the deacon, by the laying on of your hands, all the presbyters and deacons being present,' &c. (40)

'And concerning the deaconess, I, Bartholomew, set

(37) *Ibid.* Lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 538. 'Nos igitur duodecim apostoli Domini, qui una sumus, has vobis constitutiones de omni ecclesiastica forma indicimus, praesente Paulo vase electionis, et co-apostolo nostro, et Jacobo episcopo ac reliquis presbyteris et septem diaconis. Ego igitur primus Petrus dico ordinandum esse episcopum, ut omnes pariter antea constituimus,' &c.

(38) *Ib.* Cap. 12. p. 551. 'Dico ego Jacobus frater Joannis Zebedaei, ut statim edicat diaconus: ne quis ex catechumenis: ne quis ex audientibus: ne quis ex infidelibus: ne quis ex haereticis,' &c.

(39) *Ib.* cap. 16. p. 567. 'De ordinatione presbyterorum ego dilectus a Domino constituo vobis episcopis: Cum presbyterum ordinas, episcope, impone ipse manum capiti presbyteri, astantibus tibi presbyteris et diaconis,' &c.

(40) *Ib.* cap. 17. p. 570. 'De ordinatione vero diaconorum ego Philippus constituo, ut diaconum ordines, episcope, imponendo manus praesentibus omnibus presbyteris, et diaconis,' &c.

forth this constitution, that you, O bishop, shall lay hands on her, in the presence of the presbyters, the deacons, and the deaconesses,' &c. (41)

'I, Simon, the Canaanite, lay down this constitution for the number of bishops necessary in the ordination of a bishop, namely two or three,' &c. (42)

'And I, Paul, the least of the Apostles, set forth this constitution to you bishops and presbyters, concerning the Canons,' &c. (43)

I might multiply such passages, brethren, many fold; but these specimens, I trust, are sufficient to shew the simplicity and equality with which the powers of the Apostles are exhibited in this interesting record of antiquity. Can these passages be fairly reconciled with your doctrine, that Peter was the *prince* of the Apostles, and the ruler over the rest, that 'he was their pastor and they his sheep,' &c?

But, to conclude our citations from this work, I shall ask your attention to one passage more, where the episcopal jurisdiction is mentioned: 'To you, bishops, it is said: *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.*' (44) Here we have the very language which the Saviour addressed to Peter, used in the

(41) Ib. Cap. 18. 'De diaconissa vero ego Bartholomaeus constituo ut manus ei, episcopo, imponas praesentibus presbyteris, et diaconis ac diaconissis.'

(42) Ib. Cap. 27. p. 575. 'Ego Simon Cananaeus constituo a quot episcopis debeat ordinari episcopus, scilicet a duobus, aut tribus episcopis,' &c.

(43) Ib. Cap. 32. 578. 'Et ego Paulus minimus apostolorum, haec vobis episcopis et presbyteris de canonibus constituo,' &c.

(44) Ib. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. p. 298. 'Vobis episcopis dictum est: Quodcumque ligaveritis super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo, et quodcumque solveritis super terram, erit solutum et in caelo.'

plural form, and applied to all bishops without distinction or difference, agreeing admirably with the sentiment of the final chapter, where Christ is called the 'High Priest, the Pontiff, the bishop of all.' (45)

Surely, then, we cannot differ in the conclusion, that neither the Apostolical Canons, nor the Apostolical Constitutions yield any support to your doctrine. To my mind, a far stronger inference appears equally plain, that these relics of antiquity are altogether inconsistent with your claim, and do, of themselves, go far to prove, that the primitive Church of Rome held no such principle.

(45) Ib. 594. D. E. 'Omnium episcopum, et Pontificem Christum, Jesum Dominum nostrum.' Primus igitur natura Pontifex unigenitus Christus non sibi honorem rapuit, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

We come next to the decretal epistles, which purport, as you know, to be the authoritative decrees and letters of the earlier bishops or Popes of Rome, recorded in the Pontifical book of Pope Damasus. These writings are of a very different character from the subjects of my last chapter. The favorite topic which runs through them all, is the authority of the Roman See, the Supremacy of Peter, and the dignity of that Church which claims to be the mother and mistress of all the Churches. And if they were genuine, they would be entitled to great weight in settling the antiquity, if not the divine right, of this your fundamental doctrine.

But here, brethren, is the difficulty. These decretal epistles are forgeries, and admitted to be so by all your own enlightened men. It is believed, on the authority of Hincmar, that they were the fruits of the dishonest zeal of Riculfus, who was the bishop of Moguntum, A. D. 787, and who, finding the authority of the Pope needed support in France, devised these false documents in the hope of increasing it.

Certain it is, by the plain statement of your own writers, that they began to be published about A. D. 836, and that Pope Nicolas 1, A. D. 865, contended strongly with

the French clergy, in order to have these forgeries received. Through his efforts and those of his successors, they did by degrees obtain credit amongst the Western Churches. But their falsehood was exposed in full light after the Reformation, and has been acknowledged for a long period amongst all candid men of your own communion. For proof of what is here asserted, I refer to the extracts below, where you will find, that although Binius and Turrianus were weak and bigotted enough to write in defence of these frauds, yet the great mass of your eminent scholars united in their condemnation. The language of your famous Labbe is particularly strong. 'They are so deformed,' saith he, 'in the eyes of all discerning men, that no art, no paint, whether white or red, can disguise them.'*

*Observatio Philip Labbe, S. I. Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. p. 86. 'Mirum est viris doctissimis Turriano, Binio, et quibusdam aliis in tanta eruditionis ecclesiasticæ luce probari potuisse decretales illas epistolas, a quocumque, seu mercatore, seu peccatore fabricatas, et antiquis Romanæ urbis Pontificibus circiter annum Christianæ epochæ octingentesimum suppositas: adeo enim perspicacibus viris deformes videntur hoc saltem tempore, ut nulla arte, nulla cerrussa aut purpurisso fucari possint. Eas omnes, saltem plerasque earum repudiarunt eruditissimi quique tractatores Catholici, Baronius, Bellarminus, Perrenius, Contius, Antonius Augustinus, Lorinus, Sirmondus, Ducaeus, Petavius, Marca, Bosquetus, ut alios modo, sive antiquiores, sive recentiores, silentio obvolvam.'

Ib. p. 87. Antiquo juri universalis Ecclesiæ assensu roborato, successit *Jussum Novum*, quod ab anno 836 publicari cœpit, et adnente Nicolao I. et cæteris Romanis pontificibus paulatim usu invaluit per occidentis provinciis.

Ib. p. 89. Riculfus autem, a quo publicatam fuisse docet Hincmarus, Ecclesiam Moguntiacam tenuit ab anno 787, usque ad annum 814, et Sedem Apostolicam devote coluit; ut testis est auctor præfationis ad Benedicti Levitæ collectionem. Quod fortasse illi epistolarum interpolandarum desiderium injecit, ut labantem Romanæ Ecclesiæ auctoritatem in Galliis restauraret.

Ib. p. 90. E. Contenderat tamen Nicolaus literis ad universos Galliae Episcopos datis anno 865 ut decreta illa reciperentur, et magno sonatu Gallicanorum Episcoporum argumenta repulerat.

Brethren, what think you of the fact thus candidly admitted by your own authors? That the admission is honorable to their honesty, I gladly acknowledge. That it does them credit as lovers of historic truth, I freely allow. That it clears the character of your Church at the present day, from all participation in this nefarious management, is equally undeniable; and I bear my testimony thus far, with unfeigned satisfaction, in favor of the personal integrity, which your frank dealing has exhibited. But may I rest it here? Are there not some suggestions presented to every mind of common reflection by the existence of such a fraud, which brings a dark cloud upon the very character of the claim itself? Does not the admission that the ninth century gave birth to such an imposture, executed by a bishop and patronized by successive Popes, cast a mist of melancholy suspicion upon the whole sanctuary of ecclesiastical faith, and force a sigh of deep regret over the shame of men, who could palter with every principle of truth, while they boasted of infallibility?

Avoid them as we may, brethren, these questions will obtrude themselves upon us. Why were these epistles forged, if the prerogatives of St. Peter and his successors were in reality believed to be then, what your Canon law states them to be now? Why should men high in office and having much to lose by a failure in such an attempt, actually concoct a scheme of imposition, for the sake of establishing a claim which was protected by divine right already? And if it be undenied and undeniable, that forgeries so extensive were actually palmed upon the Churches for many ages, by the successors of Nicolas the 1st.—the presumed chief rulers and governors, who held the place of Christ upon the earth, and had committed to them the plenitude of power,—what security have we for the pure and faithful guardian-

ship of the other books, which come down to us through the same hands from the same remote antiquity ?

But I turn from the prosecution of this theme, my brethren. It is not necessary to my argument to press it farther : and no mind of true Christian feeling would desire to dwell on it, longer than necessity required. Unhappily for the credit of ecclesiastical fidelity, other occasions will present themselves in the progress of our inquiry, where the same fault will call for the same reprehension. But, perhaps, though the spirit of the bishop of Moguntum and Pope Nicolas the 1st, was not confined to their day nor to their persons, yet the decretal epistles constitute, on the whole, the boldest assault upon the truth of antiquity, which was ever made in the service of ecclesiastical ambition.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The earliest undoubted records which you present to us, after the Scriptures, are the writings of the Apostolic fathers, as they are called, from which nothing positive can be derived on the point in question. As a useful instance of circumstantial evidence, we shall by and by have occasion to note the conduct of Polycarp on the subject of the time of holding Easter. And in one of the epistles of Ignatius, addressed to the Romans, his entire silence on the supposed pre-eminence of their Church and the derived supremacy of Peter, looks altogether adverse to your claims. But the epistle of Clement, the bishop of Rome, to the Corinthians, expostulating with them on their deposing their ministers and contending among themselves, will furnish us with a few passages, marking the simplicity of that early day. The date of this piece of antiquity, is not far from A. D. 90. I shall cite it from your own Latin version.

‘The Church of God which worships at Rome, to the Church of God which worships at Corinth, called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, grace and peace from Almighty God, through Jesus Christ, to each and all of you be multiplied.’ (47) An hum-

(47) Mansi Concil. Tom. 1. p. 171. *Ecclesia Dei quae incolit Romanam ecclesiae Dei quae incolit Corinthum, vocatis sanctificatis in vo-*

ble beginning this ; for Clement, instead of affecting to rule the Corinthians by his official power, unites with his Church in a fraternal exhortation.

‘The Apostles,’ continues Clement, ‘preached to us from Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ from God. Christ, therefore, was sent by God, and the Apostles by Christ ; each mission was performed in its own order, by the will of God. Therefore, having received their command from him, and being certainly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in faith by the word of God, with the plenitude of the Holy Ghost, they went forth announcing the approach of the kingdom of God. Preaching, therefore, through regions and cities, they appointed the first fruits of those whom they approved in the spirit as bishops and deacons, over those who believed.’ (48) Here was an excellent opportunity to have introduced the supremacy of Peter and the maternal authority of the Church of Rome, but Clement makes not the most distant allusion either to the one or to the other.

‘Our Apostles also,’ saith this primitive witness, ‘knew through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be contention about the name of bishop. Therefore, on this account, being filled with perfect foreknowledge, they constituted those of whom we have spoken before, and delivered

luntate Dei per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in vobis singulis et erga vos invicem multiplicetur.’

(48) *Ibid.* 202. ‘Apostoli nobis evangelizaverunt a Domino Jesu Christo, Jesus Christus a Deo. Missus est igitur Christus a Deo, et apostoli a Christo: factumque est utrumque ordinatim ex voluntate Dei. Itaque acceptis mandatis et certo persuasi per resurrectionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in fide confirmati per verbum Dei cum Spiritus Sancti plenitudine et securitate, egressi sunt annuntiantes adventurum esse regnum Dei. Praedicantes igitur per regiones ac urbes, primitias earum, spiritu cum probassent, in episcopos et diaconos eorum qui credituri erant constituerunt.’

a rule thenceforward for the future succession, that when they departed, other approved men should take their office and ministry. Those, therefore, who were constituted by them, or after their time, by other approved men, with the consent of the whole Church, and who fulfilled their ministry to the sheepfold of Christ, humbly, quietly, and liberally, and through a long period, obtained a distinguished report from all men, those we think it unjust to depose from their office. For it will not be accounted a light sin, if those who offer gifts without strife and with holiness, should be removed from their episcopate.' (49) In this passage, it seems difficult to imagine how Clement could avoid some allusion to his own jurisdiction, if he had understood it as being any thing like your Canon law. The Corinthians had schismatically deposed their bishop and ministers, which they should not have attempted under any circumstances, according to your system. The Canon law declares it to be, by divine right, the prerogative of the bishop of Rome, as chief ruler and governor, to depose bishops. All, therefore, that the Corinthians could legally have done, was to have preferred a complaint to the see of Peter. And in presuming to act without applying to the vicar of Christ, the pastor and prince over the whole Church under heaven, they

(49) Ibid. 203. 'Apostoli quoque nostri per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum cognoverunt futuram esse de nomine episcopatus contentionem. Eam igitur ob causam, perfectam praecognitionem adepti, praedictos constituerunt, ac deinceps futurae successionis hanc tradiderunt regulam, ut cum illi decessissent, ministerium eorum ac munus alii probati viri exciperent. Qui igitur ab illis, aut deinceps ab aliis viris eximiis, consentiente ecclesia universa constituti sunt, et ovili Christi humiliter, quiete, liberaliterque ministrarunt, ac longo tempore praeclarum ab omnibus reportarunt testimonium: hos censemus officio injuste dejici. Non enim leve erit peccatum, si eos, qui extra quærelam et sancte offerunt dona, ab episcopatu removerimus.'

showed themselves manifest despisers of government, and guilty of an open contempt of the highest authority. Why does not Clement mention this feature in their conduct? Why does not the Church of Rome, writing to her subordinate subjects, assert her just rights as 'the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches?' Why does not her bishop recognize, on such an occasion, his own official powers, and call the refractory Corinthians, not only to a sense of their duty to their own pastors, but of their duty to himself, their chief pastor?

I confess, brethren, my utter inability to account for the total absence of these topics from this famous document of genuine antiquity, on any other hypothesis than this: Clement did not enforce the claims of the Church of Rome as the mother and mistress of Corinth, nor his own as their chief ruler, simply because those claims were not then in being. Hence he urges them to return to their duty, by the principles of the gospel, and specially by the obligation of Christian charity, and concludes by this beautiful supplication:

'May God, the Inspector of all, the Lord of all spirits, the Master of all flesh, who chose our Lord Jesus Christ, and through him elected us a peculiar people, give to every soul who shall invoke his holy and majestic name, faith, fear, peace, patience, equanimity, continence, purity, and temperance, to the praise of his name, through our High Priest and Advocate, Jesus Christ; through whom, to him, be glory, majesty, power, honor, both now and forever, Amen.'

(50.)

(50) Ibid. 214. 'Inspector omnium Deus, Spirituum Dominus, et herus universæ carnis, qui elegit Dominum Jesum Christum, et per eum nos in populum peculiarem, det omni animæ, quæ magnificentum et sanctum nomen ejus invocaverit, timorem, pacem, patientiam, æquanimitatem, continentiam, puritatem et temperantiam, ut nomini ejus gratia sit, per summum sacerdotem et patronum nostrum Jesum

Your industrious collectors give us several other epistles of Clement, which, on some accounts, are curious and interesting enough ; but as they are admitted to be apocryphal amongst yourselves, and do not, even if they were genuine, allude to the point before us, it would be useless to waste our time upon them.

Christum, per quem illi gloria, majestas, potentia, honor, et nunc et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

CHAPTER IX.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The next of the fathers whose testimony I shall present to you, is Irenæus, who flourished in the second century, and to whose writings you always appeal, although, as I am well convinced, they may in vain be searched for any evidence in support of your present system. He speaks throughout of the Church as being founded by the Apostles in general, and never mentions Peter as being entitled to any primacy over the rest. Nay, in his relation of the establishment of the very Church of Rome, he makes it the act of both Peter and Paul ; and while he grants to that Church an important rank, he expresses himself in such a manner as is totally irreconcilable with your style at the present day. The passages which are most to the purpose are as follows :

‘ We have not known,’ saith he, ‘ the system of our salvation, except by those, through whom the Gospel came to us ; which then, truly, they preached, but afterwards by the will of God they delivered to us in the Scriptures, to be the pillar and ground of our faith.’ (51.) Here, you

(51) Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos ; quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.’
Iren. Cont. Hæres. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.

perceive, Irenæus calls *the Scriptures* the ‘pillar and ground of our faith,’ and refers this pillar and ground to the Apostles generally, without distinction. A little farther on, he says that ‘Matthew among the Hebrews, published the Gospel in their own language, Peter and Paul then preaching at Rome and laying the foundation of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the scholar and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing what had been announced by Peter, and Luke, the follower of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel that had been preached by him.’ (52) Here, though speaking on the very point, there is not a hint of Peter’s supremacy, although you must be well aware, that had Irenæus known of such a doctrine, every motive of truth and interest would have combined to bring forth a declaration of it.

But the third chapter of the same book presents a passage to which you frequently refer, and therefore I shall insert it at length, that its true meaning may be clearly seen.

Arguing against the Gnostic heretics of his day, Irenæus says, ‘The tradition of the Apostles being manifested through the whole world, it remains to be seen throughout the whole Church by all who wish to behold the truth. And we are able to enumerate those who were instituted bishops by the Apostles in the Churches, and their successors to our own time, who taught and knew nothing like what these men rave about.—But since it would be tedious in such a volume, to reckon the successions of all the Churches, we

(52) ‘Ο μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου Ρώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων, καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἐξοδόν, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἀπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδίδωκε· καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπὲρ λαίνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο.’ *ib.*

confound all those, who, in any manner, whether through self gratification, or vain glory, or through blindness and evil opinion, infer what is unseemly, by the successions of the bishops of that greatest, most ancient and universally known Church, founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, which shows the tradition which it has from the Apostles, and the faith announced to men, and descending even to us. For to this Church, on account of the more powerful principality, it must needs be that the whole Church should resort, that is, those who are faithful, from all places round about; in which Church the tradition which is from the Apostles has always been preserved by those round about it.' (53)

'The blessed Apostles therefore founding and establishing this Church, delivered to Linus the episcopal right of governing it, of which Linus Paul makes mention in his epistle to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus, after him in the third place from the Apostles, Clement is chosen to the episcopate, who saw the Apostles themselves, and resided with them, and had as yet their preaching sounding in his ears, and their tradition before his eyes, nor

(53) § 1. 'Traditionem itaque apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur.'—§ 2. 'Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentia, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiorem principitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.'

he alone, for at that time many survived who had been taught by the Apostles. Under this Clement, a serious dissension having arisen among the brethren at Corinth, the Church which is at Rome wrote very powerful letters to the Corinthians, bringing them to peace, and repairing their faith, and enforcing the tradition which had been recently received from the Apostles, announcing one Almighty God, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Creator of man, who had sent the deluge, and had called Abraham, who had brought forth his people out of Egypt, who talked with Moses, who appointed the law and sent the prophets, who prepared fire for the devil and his angels. That this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ was announced by the Churches, those who wish to be informed can learn from the Scripture itself, and can also understand the Apostolical tradition, since this is a more ancient epistle for these men, who now teach, falsely, and pretend that there is another God above the Demiurgus who is the maker of all things. To this Clement Evaristus succeeded, and to Evaristus Alexander, and then the sixth after the Apostles Sixtus was constituted, and then Telesphorus, who also made a glorious martyrdom, and then Hyginus, afterwards Pius, after whom was Anicetus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, Eleutherius holds the episcopate. By this ordination and succession, that tradition which is from the Apostles in the Church, and the preaching of the truth, reach even to us. And this is a most abundant proof, that it is the same life-giving faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles until now, and delivered in truth.'

'And also Polycarp, who was not only taught by the Apostles, and had conversed with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was even constituted bishop in the

Church of Smyrna by the Apostles who were in Asia, whom we also saw in our early youth, (for he persevered greatly, and at a very great age, making a glorious martyrdom, he departed this life,) he likewise taught always those things which he had learned from the Apostles, which he delivered to the Church, and which alone are true. To these things, all the Churches which are in Asia bear testimony, and those who, even to the present day, have succeeded Polycarp, who was a man of much greater authority, and a more faithful witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion, and the rest who hold their perverse opinions. For he was the man, who, when he came to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, converted many heretics from those of which I have already spoken, to the Church of God, declaring that he had received from the Apostles that one and only system of truth which he delivered to the Church.' (54)

(54) §3. Θεμελιώσαντες ἴουν καὶ δικαιοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄνωγ' τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχειρίσαν. τοῦτου τοῦ Ἀἰνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μὲννηται. διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος, μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακῶς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους, καὶ συμβεβληκῶς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι ἕναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν προ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων, ὃν μόνος, ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ἀπο τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδιδραμένοι. ἐπὶ τοῦτου ὄν του Κλήμεντος στασεως οὐκ ὀλίγη τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἰκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτούς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἦν νεωστὶ ἀπο τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν ἐλήφει

annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ, plasmatorem hominis, qui induxerit cataclysmum, et advocaverit Abraham, qui eduxerit populum de terra Ægypti, qui colloquutus sit Moysi, qui legem disposuerit, et prophetas miserit, qui ignem præparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus. Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab Ecclesiis annuntiarī, ex ipsa Scriptura, qui velint, discere possunt, et Apostolicam Ecclesie traditionem intelligere; quum sit vetustior epistola his qui nunc falso docent, et alterum Deum super Demiurgum et factorem horum omnium, quæ sunt, commentiantur.

Here is the passage with its context, shewing the argument of Irenæus fully. And I beseech you, brethren, to have a little patience, until we can examine the testimony and understand its real bearing.

The words on which you rely, are those in which Irenæus declares, that '*to the Church of Rome, by reason of the more powerful principality, it must needs be that the whole Church resort, that is, those who are faithful from all places round about; in which Church the tradition which is from the Apostles has always been preserved.*' And these, you say, prove Irenæus to be a witness, that the Pope then possessed supreme authority over the Christian world, and that the Church of Rome was acknowledged of right as the mother and mistress of all the Churches. But do the words of Irenæus authorize your conclusion? Does he not, in the first place, speak of all the Apostles in-

Τον δὲ Κλημεντα τοῦτον διαδεχεται Εὐάρεστος, καὶ τον Εὐάρεστον Ἀλεξάνδρος· εἰθ' οὕτως ἔκτος ἅπο τῶν ἀποστολων καθίσταται Ξύστος. μετὰ δὲ τουτον Τελεσφορος, ὅς καὶ ἐνδοξως ἔμαρτύρησεν ἔπειτα Υἱῆνος, εἰτε Πίος. μεθ' ὃν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου τον Ἀνίκητον Σωτήρος, τὴν δωδεκάτω τοπω τον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἅπο τῶν ἀποστολων κατέχει κληρον Ελευθερος, τῆ' αὐτῆ τάξει, καὶ τῆ' αὐτῆ διδαχῆ ἦτε ἅπο τῶν ἀποστολων ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοσις, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηζεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.

§ 4. Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ ὃν μονον ἅπο ἀποστολων μαθητευθεις, καὶ συναναστραφεις πολλοῖς τοῖς τον Χριστον ἑωρακοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπο ἀποστολων κατασταθεις εἰς την Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῆ' ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωρακαμεν ἐν τῆ πρώτῃ ἡλιζία (ἐπιτολυ γαρ παρέμενε, καὶ πανυ γηραλῆος, ἐνδοξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου) ταῦτα διδάξας ἀει, ἡ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστολων ἔμαθεν, ἡ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδιδωσιν, ἡ καὶ μονα ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Μαρτυροῦσι τοῦτοις ἡ κατὰ την Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, καὶ ὅι μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τον Πολύκαρπον, πολλῶ ἀξιοπιστοτερον καὶ βεβαιότερόν ἀληθείας μαρτυροῦντα, Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπων κακογνωμονων. ὅς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῆ Ρώμῃ, πολλους ἅπο των προειρημένων αἰρετικων ἐπίστρεψεν εἰς την ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεου, μιαν καὶ μονην ταύτην ἀληθειαν κηρύξας ἅπο των ἀποστολων παρεϊληφέναι, την ἅπο τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην.' Iren. cont. Haer. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. p. 176.

confound all those, who, in any manner, whether through self gratification, or vain glory, or through blindness and evil opinion, infer what is unseemly, by the successions of the bishops of that greatest, most ancient and universally known Church, founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, which shows the tradition which it has from the Apostles, and the faith announced to men, and descending even to us. For to this Church, on account of the more powerful principality, it must needs be that the whole Church should resort, that is, those who are faithful, from all places round about; in which Church the tradition which is from the Apostles has always been preserved by those round about it.' (53)

'The blessed Apostles therefore founding and establishing this Church, delivered to Linus the episcopal right of governing it, of which Linus Paul makes mention in his epistle to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus, after him in the third place from the Apostles, Clement is chosen to the episcopate, who saw the Apostles themselves, and resided with them, and had as yet their preaching sounding in his ears, and their tradition before his eyes, nor

(53) § 1. 'Traditionem itaque apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur.'—§ 2. 'Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentia, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitate[m] et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiorem principality[m] necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.'

he alone, for at that time many survived who had been taught by the Apostles. Under this Clement, a serious dissension having arisen among the brethren at Corinth, the Church which is at Rome wrote very powerful letters to the Corinthians, bringing them to peace, and repairing their faith, and enforcing the tradition which had been recently received from the Apostles, announcing one Almighty God, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Creator of man, who had sent the deluge, and had called Abraham, who had brought forth his people out of Egypt, who talked with Moses, who appointed the law and sent the prophets, who prepared fire for the devil and his angels. That this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ was announced by the Churches, those who wish to be informed can learn from the Scripture itself, and can also understand the Apostolical tradition, since this is a more ancient epistle for these men, who now teach, falsely, and pretend that there is another God above the Demiurgus who is the maker of all things. To this Clement Evaristus succeeded, and to Evaristus Alexander, and then the sixth after the Apostles Sixtus was constituted, and then Telesphorus, who also made a glorious martyrdom, and then Hyginus, afterwards Pius, after whom was Anicetus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, Eleutherius holds the episcopate. By this ordination and succession, that tradition which is from the Apostles in the Church, and the preaching of the truth, reach even to us. And this is a most abundant proof, that it is the same life-giving faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles until now, and delivered in truth.'

'And also Polycarp, who was not only taught by the Apostles, and had conversed with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was even constituted bishop in the

Church of Smyrna by the Apostles who were in Asia, whom we also saw in our early youth, (for he persevered greatly, and at a very great age, making a glorious martyrdom, he departed this life,) he likewise taught always those things which he had learned from the Apostles, which he delivered to the Church, and which alone are true. To these things, all the Churches which are in Asia bear testimony, and those who, even to the present day, have succeeded Polycarp, who was a man of much greater authority, and a more faithful witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion, and the rest who hold their perverse opinions. For he was the man, who, when he came to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, converted many heretics from those of which I have already spoken, to the Church of God, declaring that he had received from the Apostles that one and only system of truth which he delivered to the Church.' (54)

(54) §3. Θεμελιώσαντες ἴσθον καὶ δικαιοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄνωγ' τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. τοῦτου τοῦ ἄνθου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται. διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος, μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τρίτῳ τύπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους, καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι ἔναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων, ὃν μόνος, ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδιδαγμένοι. ἐπὶ τοῦτου ὄντος τοῦ Κλήμεντος στασεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν Κορινθῶν γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἢ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτούς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἦν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν ἐλήμφει

annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem cæli et terræ, plasmatorem hominis, qui induxerit cataclysmum, et advocaverit Abraham, qui eduxerit populum de terra Ægypti, qui colloquutus sit Moysi, qui legem disposuerit, et prophetas miserit, qui ignem præparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus. Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab Ecclesiis annuntiarī, ex ipsa Scriptura, qui velint, discere possunt, et Apostolicam Ecclesie traditionem intelligere; quum sit vetustior epistola his qui nunc falso docent, et alterum Deum super Demiurgum et factorem horum omnium, quæ sunt, commentiantur.

Here is the passage with its context, shewing the argument of Irenæus fully. And I beseech you, brethren, to have a little patience, until we can examine the testimony and understand its real bearing.

The words on which you rely, are those in which Irenæus declares, that *'to the Church of Rome, by reason of the more powerful principality, it must needs be that the whole Church resort, that is, those who are faithful from all places round about; in which Church the tradition which is from the Apostles has always been preserved.'* And these, you say, prove Irenæus to be a witness, that the Pope then possessed supreme authority over the Christian world, and that the Church of Rome was acknowledged of right as the mother and mistress of all the Churches. But do the words of Irenæus authorize your conclusion? Does he not, in the first place, speak of all the Apostles in-

Τον δὲ Κλήμεντα τούτων διαδεχεται Εὐάρεστον, καὶ τὸν Εὐάρεστον Ἀλεξάνδρου· εἰθ' οὕτως ἕκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καθίσταται Ἐπίσκοπος. μετὰ δὲ τούτον Τελεσοφορος, ὃς καὶ ἐνδοξῶς ἐμαρτύρησεν ἔπειτα Γγῆτος, εἰτε Πίος. μεθ' ὃν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου τοῦ Ἀνίκητου Σωτήρος, τῶν δωδεκάτω τοπῶν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλήρον Ἐλευθέρος, τῆ αὐτῆ τάξει, καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ διδασχῆ ἢτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοίς, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήχησεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.

§ 4. Καὶ Πολύκαρτος δὲ ὁ μοι τοῦ ἀπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ στυγαστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑωρακοῖσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῇ ἔν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωρακαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ (ἐπιποῦν γὰρ παρέμενε, καὶ πανυ γηραλέος, ἐνδοξῶς καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρίας ἑξήληθα τοῦ βίου) ταῦτα διδάξας ἅει, ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἃ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ἃ καὶ μοι ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Μαρτυροῦσι τούτους εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πάσαι, καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῶν διαδεδεγμένοι τοῦ Πολύκαρτου, πολλῶ ἀξιοπιστοτερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἀληθείας μαρτυροῦντα, Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκιῶνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογημοῦτων. ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνίκητου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἱρετικῶν ἐπέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὲν καὶ μοιγὴν ταύτην ἀληθεῖαν κηρύξας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρελήφθαι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην. Iren. cont. Haer. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. p. 176.

differently, and expressly declare that the tradition of the Apostles was given to us ‘*in the Scriptures, to be the pillar and ground of our faith?*’ Does he not make the establishment of the Church of Rome the joint act of both Peter and Paul, saying in positive terms that they set Linus over that Church as its bishop, and not intimating, in the slightest degree, that Peter ever established himself as bishop there, or, as the Doway Catechism states it, transferred his chair from Antioch to Rome? And with respect to the more powerful principality of which Irenæus speaks, he does not use one word which connects this principality with the Church, or with its bishop; but refers simply to its location in that city, which was then, and for many centuries before and after, the acknowledged mistress of the world. That on account of the more powerful principality of Rome, where was held the seat of the imperial government—where was the capitol, from which the decrees of the Roman Senate went forth throughout the globe—in which were concentrated all the wealth, the learning, the ambition, the pleasures, and the interests of millions, and which was at once the head and the heart of that most mighty of empires, it must needs have been that the Church established there was regarded with peculiar interest by the minor Churches around it—that it was the richest, the most numerous, the most influential, and the most important Church in the general esteem of Christians, by reason of its peculiar location—all this I freely concede. Irenæus calls it by a term which is in the superlative, *most ancient*, or, otherwise, very ancient. (*antiquissima*) The first meaning cannot be the true one, because we all agree that Jerusalem, Antioch, and many other Churches, were prior to Rome in the order of time. But taking the other sense of this word for the meaning, I adopt most cheerfully the whole of his descrip-

tion, and agree that the Church of Rome was then rightly called the greatest, the very ancient, and the most universally known Church, to which, on account of the greater principality—you say, of the Church, but I say, of the city—all Christian Churches, every where round about, must of necessity resort. The distinction here granted, and the necessary results of it, were equally suited to the argument of Irenæus, whether St. Peter had any connexion with the establishment of that Church or not. It was purely secular, arising out of the advantages of its position; and our author does not use one word which attributes to it any other character.

I am not fond, brethren, of resting any religious question on mere verbal criticism; but the importance you attach to the passage before us, seems to require that I should examine it closely. The words of the original, as you know, are lost; and we are obliged to take for the original a very poor latin version. Such as we have it, the passage stands thus: '*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potio-rem principatitatem, necessè est, &c.*, literally: 'To this Church, on account of the more powerful principality, it must needs be,' &c. Irenæus does not say: *propter potio-rem principatitatem* EJUS,—on account of ITS more powerful principality,—but leaves out all connexion of the kind: which it is strange he should have done, if he intended to convey the meaning you attribute to him. Hence, I conceive myself strictly authorized to infer that such was not his intention: but that he referred to the principality of the city, and that he had no idea of the spiritual supremacy of ecclesiastical dominion, to which you would suppose him to bear testimony.

A little reflection upon the scope of Irenæus' argument will perhaps shew this point more clearly. He had been

employed in refuting the wild absurdities of the Gnostic heretics from the authority of Scripture, and now he desires to put them down by the authority of tradition. If these heretics were right, the apostles of Christ must have taught the same doctrine : and if the apostles had taught this doctrine, the bishops who succeeded them, and the Churches planted by them, must still hold the same. To them, therefore, in the second place, Irenæus confidently appeals ; and after confounding the heretics from Scripture, We also confound them, says he, by the succession of the bishops in the Churches which the apostles planted. ‘ But since it would be tedious,’ continues he, ‘ to reckon the succession of all the Churches,’ let us refer to the greatest and best known of all, the Church planted in the chief city, the principality of the Roman empire. He then counts up the succession since the beginning, in the Church of Rome ; and after this, turns to the testimony of the Church of Smyrna, and draws the same argument from the character of Polycarp, a celebrated martyr, and from all the Churches of Asia.

I am aware that there is an ambiguity in the word which I have translated, *resort*, which sometimes bears the sense, *consent* ; and this latter sense you doubtless prefer, because it gives the whole a much more favorable meaning. You would probably, therefore, say, that ‘ *To this Church*, by reason of the more powerful principality, it must needs be that the whole Church *consents*,’ would be a more correct translation : to which I have to object, that your version would not only lack grammatical accuracy,* but the idea conveyed by it would have no connexion with the argument. The testimony of the Church of Rome to the prin-

* No scholars are better aware than yourselves that when the verb *convenio*, refers to *place*, it is usually followed as in the passage before us, by the accusative, but when to *sentiment*, as when it means to consent or agree, it generally takes the dative.

ciples of the faith, was what Irenæus wanted to adduce against the heretics: and this testimony could have been in no wise affected by a point of spiritual supremacy. But he adduced this Church in preference, because it was the greatest, and the best known, in consequence of the concourse of all the surrounding Churches to the Church of the chief city of the empire; and therefore its testimony suited his purpose in arguing against heretics, for the plain reason, that it was the testimony of a more numerous, important and distinguished body.

I am happy to find your learned Touttée, the translator of Cyril, concurring in this view, in his appendix to the 5 Catechesis, (p. 82) where, speaking of the Church in Jerusalem, he says that, 'The concourse of all strangers from every part of the world, produced the same result as Irenæus had remarked of Rome, that novelties could not there increase against the force of tradition, since they would be more readily discovered and corrected.' (55)

There is, however, another and a much more conclusive justification of the sense which I have attached to the word in question, derived from a fact related by Irenæus, and recorded by Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian of the 4th century.

You know, brethren, that there was a controversy in the second century, between Victor, the bishop of Rome, and the Churches of Asia, about the time of keeping Easter: and the eastern Churches refusing to change their custom for the sake of conforming to the practice of Rome, Victor undertook to excommunicate them. For this high-handed stretch of power, he was generally censured; and amongst

(55) 'Concursum omnium ex toto orbe peregrinorum, simile quidquam effecisse, quod Irenæus Romæ factum observat, ne ibi facile posset novarum contra traditionem opinionum soboles increscere; citius enim deprehensa et correctâ fuisset.'

the rest, Irenæus wrote him a letter of expostulation, of which the following is a part.

(56) ‘But those elders, who, before Soter, governed the Church over which you now preside,’ (i. e. the Church of Rome) ‘namely Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Sixtus, neither observed this custom themselves, nor allowed those who were with them to observe it. Nevertheless, although they did not observe it, yet they preserved peace with those who came to them from these Churches in which it was observed.’ — ‘And when the most blessed Polycarp came to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and there was a little controversy between them about other things, they embraced each other presently with the kiss of peace, not greatly contending about this question. For neither could Anicetus ever persuade Polycarp to cease this thing, because he had lived familiarly

(56) Καὶ οὐ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἧς νῦν ἀφηγῆ, Ἀνικητόν λέγομεν καὶ Πιον, Ὑγῖνον τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον, καὶ Εὐσίον, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν, ὅτε τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕλαττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες, εἰρηνευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς. — καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικητοῦ, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐθὺς εἰρηρεύσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς. ὅτε γὰρ Ἀνικητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πείσαι ἐδυνάτο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων δις συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα. ὅτε μὲν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνικητόν ἐπεισε τηρεῖν, λεγόντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. καὶ τούτων ὅτις ἐχόντων, ἐκοινωνήσαν ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνικητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ’ ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἔχόντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηροῦντων. Fragmentum Epistolae ad Victorem Papam Romanum, ex Euseb. lib. v. Histor. cap. 24. Iren. op. p. 341.

with John, the disciple of our Lord, and with the other apostles, and observed their custom continually. Nor on the other hand, could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, since Anicetus said that he retained the custom of those elders who were before him. When matters were thus situated, they communed together; and Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, as a token of respect, the office of consecrating the offering in the Church; and at length they departed from each other in peace, as well those who observed this custom, as those who observed it not, keeping the peace of the whole Church.'

Now, I beg you to observe this statement of Irenæus carefully, and you cannot fail to see that it is totally irreconcilable with the sense which has sometimes been put upon the other passage; and that it fully justifies—nay, indeed, demands—the translation which I have given. For if Irenæus in that place intended to have said, that on account of the greater principality, it was necessary that the whole Church should agree with the Church of Rome, how could he justify Polycarp in differing with that Church upon the time of keeping Easter? How could Anicetus be set forth as a worthy example for Victor, in giving the kiss of peace to the bishop of Smyrna, at the very time that he was obstinately refusing to conform to the supremacy of Rome? If, according to your doctrine, Rome was even then acknowledged as the mother and mistress of all the Churches—if her bishop, as your canon tells us, held by divine institution the place of God and of Christ upon the earth—tell me, I beseech you, how Polycarp, the scholar of St. John, and the companion of the other apostles, could be so ignorant of these mighty prerogatives, as to hold a controversy with the then Pope, and to maintain such absolute independence in a practice which his supposed superior condemned?

It is in vain that the force of this testimony is impugned by considering the subject of the controversy as a trifle. It was no trifle, but a very serious question of ecclesiastical order. For you know, brethren, that then, as now, there was always a fast preceding the festival of Easter; that on the Friday before Easter the Church commemorated the last sufferings of the great Redeemer, and on the following Sunday threw off her mourning, and appeared in her utmost joy to honor his resurrection; and that the consequence of the discrepancy between the Eastern and Western Churches was, that this whole beautiful order was thrown into confusion. One part of the Church was sometimes fasting, while another part was feasting. One part was mourning in sympathy with Christ's passion, while another part was celebrating his resurrection with psalms of triumphant praise: and therefore, Christians from different Churches, who agreed sufficiently in all other things, could not even worship together with comfort during the most interesting portion of the whole ecclesiastical year. Hence it was a matter of considerable importance, and produced much warm discussion; but it could have produced none, if your present doctrine had been the doctrine of that day. Polycarp would have been taught by St. John to reverence the primacy of St. Peter and his successors, if any such thing had been contemplated in the original polity of the Christian commonwealth. Polycarp would have known that there was some other prince in the Church besides the Lord Jesus Christ, viz. his vicar on earth, representing his person, and holding the place of God, as your canon law expresses it. And he would have approached Anicetus, the bishop of Rome, not in the independent frankness of an equal in authority, but in the ready and suppliant temper which became his inferior station.

I ask you, then, this simple question, brethren: Was Polycarp right in maintaining this independence, or was he wrong? Anicetus, the bishop of Rome, acknowledged that he was right in his independence, though he differed with him in opinion and in practice; and therefore he gave him the kiss of peace, and desired him to exercise the honorable office of consecrating the communion. Irenæus plainly takes the same ground, and therefore maintains the liberty of the Eastern Church against Victor on the very same question in his own day. And will you still think that Irenæus regarded the Pope of Rome as you regard him? Is not the difference between the fraternal and equal rights of the primitive bishops of Rome and Smyrna in the second century, and the most unequal rights of their successors in our time, great, even beyond the power of any common terms of comparison? Try the experiment, I pray you: imagine any bishop of your Church, of equal rank with the bishop of Smyrna, to act as Polycarp acted; and conjecture, if you can, the reception he would meet with at the court of Rome: and then say, as men who love the truth, whether the system of your canon law has not an irreconcilable enemy rather than a friend, in the testimony of Irenæus.

CHAPTER X.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

After examining the testimony of this most unimpeachable witness, suffer me to pause awhile before adducing any other, in order to present to you the general view which I believe the truth will be found to sanction. The language of Irenæus I regard as furnishing a most satisfactory key to the whole mystery, with which the question is connected in the ordinary mind. For many centuries, Rome has been a city of splendid ruins, with no empire except that vast supremacy which is rested upon the supposed grant of the Almighty. I do not wonder, therefore, that the very fact of this supremacy existing so long without any apparent support from the temporal power, should strike your imaginations as being almost conclusive evidence in its favor: so that when you look at the real language of antiquity, you read it under the strong bias of a settled belief, which bends it either way, according to circumstances, without being sensible of any violence to the rights of truth. But if you will take the assertion of your own witness for the foundation of the matter, I think you will be able to see how your present doctrine was likely to have obtained its growth by the operation of causes wholly secular. At least, my reflections have led me to this result; and I beg your indulgence for a little while, in order to state the course my mind has taken

so as to account for the rise of this doctrine, on the one hand, and avoid charging you with intentional tyranny or deception on the other.

At the time when the Apostles, Peter and Paul, established the Church in Rome, it was, as I have said, the capital city of the civilized world. On such a capital, perhaps the sun never shone. It is saying much less than the truth to assert, that what Paris is to France, or London to England, Rome was to the world; because France and England know that there are other powers upon the earth independent of their respective governments, but the subjects of that empire city saw no power upon the earth, independent of Rome. The ambassadors of every potentate, came to do homage before the majesty of a single throne. Dissensions amongst nations were brought for settlement before the Senate. Rival kings contending for the same tributary diadem, submitted their claims to that august tribunal. The very name of Roman citizen was a protection and a privilege in every land, and an appeal to Rome was the final recourse of universal justice.

In our age, brethren, it is not easy—indeed it is hardly possible—to conceive aright of such a city. Divided as the nations have been ever since her decline and fall, and each government displaying but a fractional part of her whole dominion, it is hard for us to imagine the majesty, the force, the concentration, the harmony, the glory, the beauty, the overpowering splendor of the spectacle which ancient Rome, in the days of Augustus, displayed to the admiration of a subject world. To the moral sense, the picture was as sublime as it was beautiful. The whole earth in peaceful subordination to one man, and he content with the kind and moderate titles of General and father—the temple of Janus shut, and wars and commotions al-

most done away by the wise administration of supreme justice—the whole of the mighty empire bringing its treasure and its allegiance to the great centre, which was its fountain head of power ; and enjoying in return, the rich advantages of protection and government, the valor and the labour of its legions, its science, and its literature, which, like the nerves and life-blood of the natural body, were diffused freely to the remotest extremities—all this displayed a picture of human unity, on which, in its theory, the philanthropist and the philosopher might well gaze with delight ; nor can I imagine, how, with such a picture before them, the minds of the best of men at that day, could help being strongly affected.

About the time when the last touch of perfection had been given to this wonderful empire, Christianity arose ; and a Church was established in the imperial city. In wealth, in numbers, in importance, it is obvious that it must soon have surpassed all others. Every thing in the chief city of an ordinary kingdom acquires a kind of practical supremacy over the whole of that territory. The professions, the trades, the fashions, the literature, the amusements of the capital, give a sort of law to the rest by a perfectly familiar principle of deference, which is acknowledged and understood by all men. What must have been the strength of that principle in regard to imperial Rome !

But, perhaps, it may not be useless—inasmuch as the mind is often aided in its reflections on the force of circumstances, by transferring them to some familiar object of our own day,—if I try to simplify my idea of a secular supremacy by an obvious illustration.

Let us suppose, then, that we had sent a number of missionaries to plant the Gospel in China, who had succeeded

in establishing Churches in several of the provinces of that extensive country. In the progress of their labours we are informed that a Church is gathered in the capital itself. The emperor, the powerful mandarins, the officers of government, the men of influence, are now likely to be brought under the blessed yoke of the Gospel. Is it not reasonable that we should attach tenfold more importance to that Church than to the Provincial Churches—that for its support we should be most anxious—that into its progress we should most fondly inquire, and that we should expect—nay advise—all the other missionaries through the nation, to be most solicitous for its welfare, and most ready to make its advancement the primary object of their prayers and toils?

If, however, such would be our views, at a distance from the field of action, how much more would the same principle of expediency operate on the missionaries themselves? Of what vast importance would they esteem the progress of truth in the capital of the Chinese empire? How surely would they calculate that success there, was, in fact, success every where? How thankfully would they count the numbers of converts from the ranks of the influential and the great, not because their souls were of more value, but because the conversion of such as these was the readiest mode of breaking down the kingdom of darkness, and inducing multitudes to examine, with favorable dispositions, the system of truth; and how manifest it is, that in such a case, the missionaries settled in the provincial Churches, would readily grant a primacy of influence and consequence to their brethren in the capital city, which would make them the chief leaders, advisers, and, in fine, directors of the whole? And yet, in all this, we see at a glance that it is simply to be resolved into the importance of the

local situation, that it has no connexion whatever with the spiritual rank or ecclesiastical dignity of the missionaries themselves, but is purely the result of judicious views of practical expediency.

Now then, if we were called to draw up a code of regulations for a body of missionaries thus circumstanced, should we not, perhaps, think it proper to advise all due regard to these principles? Should we not say, Be careful about union, and in all your proceedings consult together: but especially, do nothing without consulting with your brethren of the capital city. In order that the good cause should prosper, it is necessary that you should resort to the Church established there as often as you can; by reason of its more powerful principality, being the seat of government and the very heart of the empire, the Church located there is the most important of the whole, and the brethren placed over it should have the chief direction in all your councils. Would not such advice as this be deemed prudent and wise by all men? And hence, is it not plain, that we could go farther than Irenæus has done in support of a primacy, without departing in the least from the ground of secular superiority, derived simply from the importance of the location?

But in the situation of the Christian Church, as planted in ancient Rome, there was much more than any modern analogy can furnish, to contribute to the same result. During seasons of persecution, when heathen rage was excited against the faithful, *The Christians to the lions* was the first cry, and the Church in Rome was usually called upon to take the lead in the glory of martyrdom. In times of peace, the crowds of philosophers and disputers which thronged the imperial city, drew out the best talents and strongest energies of the priesthood in the defence of truth.

And the influx of strangers, the applications for aid, and the calls on liberality which were sure to be most abundant where there was most inducement to attract them, would keep the sympathies, the hospitality, and the beneficence of that Church in the fullest action. Add to all this, that if the Christians in the Provinces needed any indulgence from the government, their requests could be best presented through the brethren at Rome; that the bishop of Rome was on the very spot where he had the best opportunity of appeasing the imperial wrath, or conciliating the imperial favour; that when the clergy or others had occasion to travel, his letters would have the greatest weight by reason of his local superiority; that when any of the Prætors or Provincial magistrates were likely to prove hostile to the Christian cause, the bishop of Rome was the only man who could hope to have influence sufficient with the officers of the Court, to have him counteracted or recalled; that writers on the Christian religion would first seek patronage and praise from the same dignitary, and that all who thought themselves aggrieved throughout the rest of the Church, would naturally endeavour to strengthen their cause by the sentence of his approbation—all this, brethren, and much more of the same character, suggests itself to a mind of common reflection, in following up the various causes of the secular primacy obtained by that Church, which was established near the throne of the Cæsars, in the empire city of the world.

The last feature of the case presents the influence which these circumstances must have exerted on the minds of the Roman clergy themselves, when connected with the important fact that the secular empire of Rome was one mighty whole—the earth under one head—the world under a single prince, and that prince called a father. Dull and stu-

pid must the intellect have been, that could fail to discover the application of this idea to the Christian Church; for was it not, in truth, one kingdom under a single King—one family under a Father? And why not give the benefit of this consolidation to the Hierarchy on earth? Why not secure to the whole Church, that order and subordination and peace under a single earthly head, as the Lord's Viceroy, which heathenism had brought, in the affairs of human government, to such a marvellous system? Should the hosts of Satan be better marshalled than the hosts of God? Should one single will be felt and obeyed to the remotest bounds of that mighty empire, and should not one single Church, which is the spouse of Christ, be much rather the ruler and mistress through the whole of Christendom? On such a plan, how much more union might be expected, how much more peace, how much less opportunity for heresy and false doctrine; and how much more glorious would be the victory of the Lord's people, when they should appear to the heathen one mighty host, 'bright as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.'

Brethren, I can easily conceive that the best men of the primitive age, being accustomed to have this astonishing empire of the world continually before their eyes, and to hear it as the common and favorite theme of the orators, and courtiers, and civilians, and soldiers, and travellers around them, might readily, in this manner, be led to contemplate the desirableness and practicability of a similar system in the Church, and to cherish and encourage every advantage they possessed for its perfect consummation, as Providential instruments placed in their hands by divine wisdom, for this especial purpose. I can easily conceive, that under this influence of their habitual views, they would find in Scripture analogies and even precepts, which,—had not the idea of

universal empire been first rendered familiar by the political state of the world,—would never have occurred to them. That thus disposed, they would derive a supposed parallel in principle from the High Priest of ancient Israel, and instead of applying it to the single district of a bishop, would apply it to the whole of Christendom—that they would lay hold on our Lord's addresses to Peter (the only passages in the New Testament which ingenuity itself could put into the semblance of divine authority,) and begin to interpret them in favor of their ecclesiastical empire,—that all who were connected with Rome, who had obligations to the Church there, who feared their censure or loved their praise, or who had any thing to expect from their influence, would readily fall in with the idea ; and that the converts amongst the great and noble, who had always been accustomed to the maxim that Rome was the mistress of the world, would be prompt and zealous in defence of an idea which harmonized so well with their own political and patriotic feelings—all this I can conceive, most readily, as easily accounting for the rise and progress of a secular primacy, without calling it by any harsh or offensive name. I do not, therefore, look upon your doctrine as having its *origin* in tyranny, in fraud, or in a desire to lord it over mankind. Its beginning I think I have traced to a much better set of principles. And as I hold myself bound in all cases, to look for the most favorable motives and causes of human action, (for otherwise how can I judge, as I would be judged ?) so I attribute to the policy of the primitive Church of Rome, nothing more than can be fully explained by the favorable influence of their location, their habits of dwelling on the theory and practice of universal empire, and their desire to secure the unity and peace of the Church ; on the supposition that they were,—what I

willingly esteem them to have been—holy and well meaning men.

The change from this local primacy, to that which you now assert, will be shewn distinctly before I conclude. I shall only, for the present, observe, that the one was secular, the other is spiritual; the one was human, the other is divine: the one interfered with the liberty of no other Church, the other claims authority over the whole. The one grew out of the political pre-eminence of ancient Rome, and should now be yielded, of right, in their respective proportions, to the other cities which, in the order of Providence, have attained a far larger measure of influence over the affairs of men; but the other insists on the fiat of the Almighty, superior to all earthly mutation, that Rome shall be the mother and the mistress of the Christian world to the end of time. And this divine supremacy, you call on all to believe, *at the peril of their salvation!* How badly your present doctrine accords with the evidence of antiquity, I have already shewn in part; and I shall now resumé the examination of your witnesses, from whose testimony it will be sufficiently apparent, that many centuries elapsed before the establishment of your exclusive claims.

CHAPTER XI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Our next witness in order of time, is the famous Tertullian, that extraordinary writer, whom Cyprian—himself a burning and shining light—was accustomed to call his master.

In this writer's account of the establishment of the Church, we have the following strong passage :

(56) ' About to return to his Father, after his resurrection, he (sc. Christ) ordered the eleven to go and teach the nations, baptizing them in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Immediately, therefore, the Apostles

(56) ' Reliquos undecim digrediens ad Patrem post resurrectionem, jussit ire et docere nationes, ntinguendas in Patrem, et in Filium, et in Spiritum Sanctum. Statim igitur Apostoli (quos hæc appellatio missos interpretatur) assumpto per sörtem duodecimo Matthia in locum Judæ, ex auctoritate prophetiæ, quæ est in psalmo David, consecuti promissam vim Spiritus Sancti ad virtutes et eloquium primo per Judæam contestata fide in Jesum Christum, et Ecclesiis institutis; de hinc in orbem profecti, eandem doctrinam ejusdem fidei nationibus promulgaverunt, et proinde Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ, ceteræ exinde Ecclesiæ mutuata sunt, et quotidie mutantur ut Ecclesiæ fiant. Ac per hoc et ipsæ Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ et Apostolicæ dum una omnes probant uni-

(whom this appellation styles messengers) a twelfth named Matthias, being chosen by lot in the place of Judas, by the authority of the prophecy in the Psalm of David, having attained the power promised by the Holy Spirit of tongues and other virtues; first throughout Judea, bore testimony to the faith of Jesus Christ, and established Churches, and thence going out into the world, promulgated the same doctrine of the faith among the nations, and established Churches in each city, from which the other Churches thenceforward borrowed, and daily borrow as new Churches are formed, and on this account they are considered apostolic, as being the progeny of the Apostolical Church, for every race must needs be esteemed according to its origin. Therefore, though there are so many and various Churches, that one Church is the first from the Apostles, from which are all. Thus all are first and Apostolical, for all being one proves unity, while there is the communication of peace, and the name of brotherhood, and the symbol of hospitality, which rights are regulated by no other principle than the one delivery of the same mystery of faith.— If these things are so, it results, that thenceforward every doctrine which accords with those Apostolic Churches, the wombs and originals of faith, should be reputed for truth: and that is without doubt to be holden, which the Churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God:

tatem : dum est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quae jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio.'—' Si haec ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quae cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis, matricibus et originalibus fidei conspirat, veritati deputandam; sine dubio tenentem quod Ecclesiae ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit: omnem verò doctrinam de mendacio praejudicandam, quae sapiat contra veritatem Ecclesiarum, et Apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei, —' Solent dicere, Non omnia Apostolos scisse, eadem agitati dementia qua rursus convertunt, Omnia quidem Apostolos scisse,

but every doctrine is to be prejudged of falsehood which pretends to be wise against the truth of the Churches, and of the Apostles, and Christ, and God. ——— But some of these heretics say, the Apostles did not know all things; and others, moved by the same madness, say that the Apostles truly knew all things, but they did not deliver all things to all; in both of which they subject Christ to censure, as sending forth for Apostles, persons deficient in knowledge, or in integrity. But what man of sound mind can believe that they were ignorant, whom the Lord gave us for teachers, having them individually in his companionship, in his tuition, at his table; to whom, whatever obscure matters he put forth to others, he explained, saying that to them it was given to know mysteries, which it was not lawful for the people to understand? Was any thing hidden from Peter, who was called the rock of the Church to be erected, having obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth? Was any thing hidden from John, the most beloved of the Lord, lying on his breast, to whom alone our Lord shewed beforehand the traitor Judas, and whom he asked to be the son

sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse, in utroque Christam reprehensionem subjicientes, qui aut minus instructos, aut parum simplices Apostolos miserit. Quis igitur integre mentis credere potest aliquid eos ignorasse, quos magistros Dominus dedit, individuos habens in comitatu, in discipulatu, in convictu; quibus obscura quaeque seorsum disserabat, illis dicens datum esse cognoscere arcana, quae populo intelligere non liceret? Latuit aliquid Petrum, aedificandae Ecclesiae petram dictum, claves regni caelorum consecutum, et solvendi et alligandi in caelis et in terris potestatem? Latuit et Joannem aliquid, dilectissimum Domino, pectori ejus incubantem, cui soli Dominus Judam traditorem praemonstravit, quem loco suo filium Mariae demandavit? Quid eos ignorasse voluit, quibus etiam gloriam suam exhibuit, et Moysen et Heliam, et insuper de caelo Patris vocem? Tert. De Praescrip. Haeret. § xx. xxii. xxiii. (p. 208—9.)

of Mary in his place? What did he desire them not to know, to whom he exhibited his glory, with Moses and Elias, and the voice of his Father from heaven?’

Now here we find Tertullian, only one century after the death of the Apostle John, giving an account of the planting of the Church, speaking of its unity, and insisting strongly on the argument of prescription and tradition with the heretics, as Irenæus had done before him, without the slightest allusion to the Church of Rome, or the superiority of one Apostle over the others, or the primacy for the successors of St. Peter, which you claim for the Pope at the present day. True it is, indeed, that Tertullian seems to authorize your interpretation of the passages of Scripture, which speak of Peter’s being a rock, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven being given to him. But since it is a rule of universal application that every author shall explain his own meaning, I shall turn to Tertullian himself, in order to shew you, that he did not use these expressions in the sense which you affix to them, but in one which you utterly disclaim.

Speaking on the very point of the privileges which our Lord granted to Peter, and the powers which the Church derived from him, Tertullian uses the following strong language.

(57) ‘But now from your own argument I would know, from whence you derive this right which you claim for the Church? If from our Lord’s saying to Peter, Upon this rock I will build my Church, To you I have given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, or, Whatsoever you shall bind or

(57) De tua nunc sententia quaero unde hoc jus Ecclesiae usurpes. Si quia dixerit Petro Dominus, super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, Tibi dedi claves regni caelestis, vel, Quaecumque alligaveris vel solveris in terra, erunt alligata vel soluta in caelis, idcirco

loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven; do you therefore presume this power of loosing and binding to have descended to thee, that is, to the whole Church which is related to Peter? If so, you are overturning and changing the manifest intention of our Lord, who conferred this on Peter individually. Upon *thee*, he says, I will build my Church; and, To *thee* I will give the keys, not to the Church; and, Whatsoever *thou* shalt loose or bind, not whatsoever they shall loose or bind. So likewise the event teaches. On him the Church was built, that is, through him, he furnished the key; behold what key; 'Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man destined for you by God,' and so on. He too, first, in the baptism of Christ, unlocked the gate of the celestial kingdom, by which the offences which were formerly bound are loosed, and those things which might not be loosed are bound, according to the true salvation: and he bound Ananias with the chain of death, and he loosed the impotent man from his lameness. Likewise in that disputation which occurred about keeping the Mosaic law, Peter, the first of all, filled with the Spirit, foretold the calling of the nations. And now, saith he, why do ye tempt the Lord by placing a yoke

praesumis et ad te derivasse solvendi et alligandi potestatem, id est ad omnem Ecclesiam Petri propinquam, qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem, Super te, inquit, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et, Dabo tibi claves, non Ecclesiæ, et, Quæcumque solveris vel alligaveris, non quæ solverint vel alligaverint. Sic enim et exitus docet. In ipso Ecclesia exstructa est, id est per ipsum, ipse clavem imbuit; vide quam; Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico; Jesum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis destinatum, et reliqua. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reseravit aditum cœlestis regni, quo solvuntur alligata retro delicta, et alligantur quæ non fuerint soluta, secundum veram salutem, et Ananiam vinxit vinculo mortis, et debilem pedibus absolvit vitio valetudinis. Sed et in illa disceptatione custodiendæ

upon the brethren, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. But by the grace of Jesus we believe that we shall obtain salvation, even as they. This opinion both loosed the things of the law which were omitted, and bound those which were retained. So that the power of loosing and binding conferred on Peter has nothing to do with the mortal sins of believers. For to him the Lord had commanded forgiveness of his brother even if he had sinned against him seventy times seven, and surely he would not afterwards have commanded him to bind these sins, that is, to retain them, unless perhaps those which any one might have committed not against his brother, but against the Lord. For the very command given to forgive offences committed against man, seems to imply that no authority was intended to forgive sins against God. What now has all this to do with the Church, and especially with yours, O Psychicus? According to the person of Peter, this power will suit spiritual men, such as an apostle or a prophet. For the Church properly and principally is (the temple of) that Spirit in whom is the Trinity of one divinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He gathers that Church,

neque legis, primus omnium Petrus Spiritu instinctus, et de nationum vocatione præfatus, Et nunc, inquit, cur tentastis Dominum de imponendo iugo fratribus quod neque nos, neque patres nostri sufferre valuerunt? Sed enim per gratiam Jesu credimus nos salutem consecuturos sicut et illi. Hæc sententia et solvit quæ ommissa sunt legis, et alligavit quæ reservata sunt. Adeo nihil ad delicta fidelium capitalia potestas solvendi et alligandi Petro emancipata. Cui si præceperat Dominus etiam septuagies septies delinquenti in eum fratri indulgere; utique, nihil postea alligare, id est, retinere mandasset, nisi forte ea quæ in Dominum, non in fratrem quis admiserit. Præjudicatur enim non dimittenda in Deum delicta, quum in homine admissa donantur. Quid nunc et ad Ecclesiam, et quidem tuam, Psychice? Secundum enim Petri personam Spiritualibus potestas ista conveniet, aut Apostolo, aut Prophetæ. Nam et Ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est Spiritus in quo est trinitas unius divinitatis Pater et Filius et Spiritus

which the Lord has placed in three. And therefore, from that time, every such number who unite in this faith, is esteemed a Church by its Author and Consecrator. And thus indeed the Church will forgive offences, but this is the Church which is the Spirit by the spiritual man, not the Church which is the number of bishops. For this is the prerogative and will of the master, not of the servant; of God himself, and not of the priest.'

You will doubtless say, that this interesting passage is a part of Tertullian's work after he had become a follower of Montanus. It is so, but I do not see any reason for discarding it on this account, when used as a commentary on his own meaning in another part of his writings, and on the subject now before us. For the errors of Montanus had no relation, that ever I have heard, to the doctrine of St. Peter's pastoral authority over the other Apostles, and the derivation of that authority to the particular Church of Rome. Nor do I find that Tertullian was impeached of heresy in his own day. But as a man of the most austere and pious life, strong in his general orthodoxy, eminent for learning and genius, bold, fervent, and sincere, the special favorite of St. Cyprian, and held in reverence by yourselves to the present hour. I cite him as an unimpeachable witness to prove that the Spiritual supremacy of the Church of Rome was not the doctrine of his age even in the Church of Rome itself.

There are a few other passages from the same author,

Sanctus. Illam Ecclesiam congregat, quam Dominus in tribus posuit. Atque ita exinde etiam numerus omnis qui in hanc fidem conspiraverint, Ecclesia ab auctore et consecratore censetur. Et ideo Ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia spiritus per spiritualem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum. Domini enim, non famuli est jus et arbitrium; Dei ipsius, non sacerdotis.' Tertul. de Pud. § xxi. xxii. p. 574.

which I may, perhaps, do well to add, for your greater satisfaction.

Although he admits the application of the term rock to Peter, in which we shall find that he differs from the other fathers, yet he acknowledges that Christ is the rock in many ways. Thus, speaking of the circumcision of the Jews with a knife of stone, he explains it to refer to the precepts of Christ, 'For Christ,' saith he, 'is preached as the rock, under many modes and figures.' (58)

There is also a place in his fourth book against Marcion, where he seems to account for Simon's name being changed to Peter, in a manner very different from what your doctrine would require. (59) 'Christ changed the name from Simon to Peter,' saith he, 'because the Creator reformed also the names of Abraham, and Sarah, and Joshua, calling this last Jesus, by adding to them syllables. But why Peter? If on account of the vigor of his faith, there are many and solid arguments which would accommodate this name to him. Or whether was it because Christ was a rock and a stone? Since we read that he was placed as a stone of offence and a rock of scandal. I omit other matters.' And here, accordingly, Tertullian leaves the question, without seeming at all conscious that Peter could be called a stone by reason of the whole Church, Apostles

(58) 'Circumcisis nobis petrina acie; id est, Christi præceptis, petra enim Christus multis modis et figuris prædicatus est.' Tertul. adv. Jud. § ix. p. 194. A.

(59) 'Mutat et Petro nomen de Simone, quia et Creator Abraham et Saræ, et Auseæ nomina reformavit, hunc vocando Jesum, illis syllabas adjiciendo. Sed et cur Petrum? Si ob vigorem fidei, multæ materiæ solidæque nomen de suo accommodarent. An quia et petra et lapis Christus? Siquidem et legimus positum eum in lapidem offendiculi, et in petram scandali. Omitto cetera. Tertul. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. § xiii. p. 425.

and all, as your Doway Catechism assures us, being built upon him.

His reference to the Church as consisting of three, in allusion to the Trinity, he explains more fully in the following passage: 'Are not we laymen priests also? It is written: He has made us a kingdom and priests to God and his Father. The authority of the Church has established the difference between the clergy and the laity, and this honor is sanctified by the council of the clergy, but wherever there is no council of clergy, you offer and you baptize, and you are a priest alone. But where there are three, the Church is, although they be laymen. For every one lives by his own faith.' (60)

The phrase, 'keys of the kingdom of heaven,' which is, manifestly, a figure, is explained in a somewhat different manner by Tertullian, in different parts of his works. Thus, in one passage he says, 'What key had the doctors of the law, but the interpretation of the law,' where he presents an idea similar to that we have quoted already. (61) But in another place he says: 'If you still think heaven is closed against you, remember that the Lord gave the keys of it here to Peter, and through him, he left them to the Church, which keys every one here, being interrogated and making a good confession, shall carry with him.' (62) Here

(60) *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit. Differentiam inter ordinem et Plebem constituit Ecclesiae auctoritas, et honor per ordinis concessum sanctificatus, adeo ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est concessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici. Unusquisque enim sua fide vivit.* Tertul. de Exhort. Castit. § vii. p. 522.

(61) 'Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores, nisi interpretationem legis?' Tertul. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. § 27. p. 444.

(62) 'Nam etsi adhuc clausum putas coelum, memento claves ejus hic

again we have an interesting variety in the idea, but none of them are at all suited to your doctrine.

There is another passage of this author, often cited, in which he mentions the principal Churches, in his argument against heretics; advising them to apply to those which were of apostolic planting. (63) 'Come then,' saith he, 'you who wish to exercise your curiosity well in the concerns of your salvation, go through the Apostolic Churches, amongst which the very seats of the Apostles continue in their places, and their original epistles are recited, sounding forth the voice, and representing the countenance of each one. Is Achaia near to you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Phillippi, you have Thessalonica. If you cannot go throughout Asia, you have Ephesus. But if you are convenient to Italy, you have Rome, whence

Dominum Petro, et per eum, Ecclesiae reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque interrogatus atque confessus feret secum. Tertul. Scorp. § x. p. 496. A.

(63) 'Age jam qui vales curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuae, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis praesident, apud quas ipsae authenticae litterae eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repraesentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? Habes Corinthum. Si non longe es à Macedonia, habes Phillippos, habes Thessalonenses. Si non potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adiaces, Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est. Ista quam felix Ecclesia: cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur: ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, cum Africanis quoque Ecclesiis contesseravit. Unum Deum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Jesum ex virgine Maria Filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem, Legem et Prophetas cum Evangelicis et Apostolicis litteris miscet, et inde potat fidem: eam aqua signat, Sancto Spiritu vestit, eucharistia pascit, martyrium exhortatur, et ita adversus hanc institutionem neminem recipit. Haec est institutio, non dico jam quae futuras haereses praenuntiabat, sed de qua haereses prodicunt. Tertul. de Praescrip. Haeret. § xxxvi. p. 215.

authority for us is nigh at hand. How happy is this Church to which the apostles gave their whole doctrine, with their blood : where Peter was made equal to the endurance of the passion of his Lord : where Paul was crowned (with martyrdom) at the exile of John : where the apostle John was afterwards plunged into boiling oil, and suffering nothing, was banished to an island. Let us see too, what one might learn, what he might teach, when he should also have compared his symbol with the Churches of Africa. He acknowledges one God the Creator of the universe, and Jesus Christ, from the Virgin Mary, the Son of God, the Creator, and the resurrection of the flesh ; he mingles the law and the prophets with the Gospels and the Epistles, and thence he drinks his faith ; water signs it ; it is clothed with the Holy Spirit ; the eucharist nourishes it ; martyrdom exhorts it, and thus, against this institution it receives no one. This is the institution, I do not say which premonished men that there would be heresies, but from which heresies must go forth.' Here is a beautiful passage, shewing an admiration of the Church of Rome on the part of Tertullian, and certainly displaying every disposition to do justice to her claims ; yet there is not one word about the Chair of Peter—about the bishop of Rome holding the place of God and Christ upon the earth, about Rome being the mother and mistress of the other dioceses, nor indeed, any thing that looks like her having a superior authority.

But it is time that this witness should be dismissed, for there are many others to be examined. And yet I cannot in justice close the testimony of Tertullian, without presenting to you, brethren, the opinion of one of yourselves, the learned and candid Rigault, on the subject of the aspersions, which those who relished not his honesty have endeavored to cast upon him.

(64) 'The heresies of Tertullian, so called,' saith this ingenuous critic, 'can hardly be discovered in any thing unless in his advocacy of braver martyrdoms, severer fasts, more holy chastity, namely in one marriage or none, in which things whatever may have been a sin, seems to have been such through a more absolute and vehement love of virtue. This indeed appears a graver accusation, that he acknowledged and defended the Paraclete of Montanus. But the school of Montanus, as Baronius himself observes, stood for a long while innocent, and his disciples were commendable for the sanctity of their manners, revered for their beneficent power of miracles, and strong in the constancy with which they endured martyrdom. So that no one could recognize elsewhere, a more manifest exhibition of the Deity.' The conclusion of Rigault from these and other facts which may be omitted, is the conclusion, I doubt not, of truth, that Tertullian's adherence to Montanus must have been at the beginning of his course, when Montanus was applauded by all Christians, for his extraordinary zeal, and not towards the end, when his orthodoxy became infected, and he sunk into contempt. (65)

I conclude this chapter, brethren, by reminding you of

(64) *Haereses Tertulliani quae dicuntur, ea vix aliud praecipiebant quam martyria fortiora, jejunia sicciora, castimonium sanctiorem, nuptias scilicet unas, aut nullas. In quibus quidquid peccavit, id omne virtutis amore vehementiore peccasse videatur. Illud certe gravius, quod Montani Paracletum agnovit atque defendit. Sed Montani schola, sicut et Baronius observat, aliquamdiu stetit innoxia, discipulos habuit adeo morum sanctitate commendabiles, beneficia miraculorum potentia reverendos, martyriorum constantia fortes, ut nemo praesentiores alibi numinis vires agnosceret.* Rigault. in not. Tertul. op. p. 501.

(65) 'Unde verosimile fiat, Montani dogma quale extitit, primordio quidem sui Christianis austerioribus probabili, Tertullianum tenuisse, non quale postea, cum sequacium quorundam imposturis et fraudibus, ac Phrygia interpolatum, ab Ecclesiis Catholicis desipi cœpit.' *ib.*

Tertullian's maxim, which is a favorite one with yourselves, that 'What is first is true, and what is subsequent is adulterated.' (66) May you be enabled to apply it aright, and then you will have no difficulty in acknowledging that the spiritual dominion which you now claim over the Christian world, was not a doctrine of the primitive Church of Rome, but one which sprung up at a much later day.*

(66) 'Id esse verum quodcumque primum, id esse adulterum quodcumque posterius.' Tertul. adv. Prax. § II. p. 501.

* I have been somewhat surprised at a remark published by the learned author of the Difficulties of Romanism, (p. 261 of the American edition, in the note) where he says that 'in the time of Tertullian a considerable advance had been made by the See of Rome in the claim of the primacy, inasmuch as he (Tertullian) calls the bishop of that Church the supreme Pontiff, and distinguishes him with the authoritative title of bishop of bishops.' This concession is gladly used, I perceive, in the book of the bishop of Strasburgh, published in answer to Mr. Faber; but I cannot see that either of those learned writers has understood Tertullian fairly. The passage is taken from his book *De Pudicitia*, and occupies its first page. I quote it with its context, in justice to the argument, and leave it to your candor to say whether he does not apply these titles rather in irony than in sober allowance. 'I hear, says Tertullian, 'that an edict is proposed, and truly a peremptory one. The Pontiff, namely, the Chief, which means the bishop of bishops, declares: I remit the sins of fornication and adultery, to all who have completed their penitence. O edict, which cannot be called a good deed. And where is this liberality displayed? There, as I think, on those very gates of lust, under those very titles of lust. There this kind of penitence is to be promulgated, where iniquity itself shall be most familiar. There pardon is to be read, whenever one shall enter with the hope of it. But this is read in the Church, and is uttered in the Church, and yet the Church is a Virgin. Away, away with such preaching from the Spouse of Christ. That Church which is true, which is modest, which is holy, should not have such uncleanness offered even to her ears.'

To my mind, the character of this whole passage shows that Tertullian had no idea of doing honor to the bishop of Rome, but the contrary. Be this as it may, however, and granting that these titles had been applied in the sobriety of historical narration, still they would

not sustain your doctrine. For every Metropolitan bishop who had bishops under him, might be called a chief Pontiff, and a bishop of bishops; and the supremacy of the bishop of Rome by divine right over the whole Church, could by no fair reasoning be supported from such titles merely, since they were given to others as well as to himself. That Tertullian could not have designed to concede any thing in favor of your present doctrine is incontestably plain from this single consideration: that the passage occurs in the opening of the same book from which I have quoted the extract on pages 85 and 86, so utterly hostile to your whole system. I add the original in full.

‘Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium, Pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est, Episcopus Episcoporum, edicit: Ego et moechiæ et fornicationis delicta, poenitentia functis dimitto. O edictum, cui adscribi non poterit, Bonum factum! Et ubi proponetur liberalitas ista? Ibidem, opinor, in ipsis libidinum januis, sub ipsis libidinum titulis. Illic ejusmodi poenitentia promulganda est, ubi delinquentia ipsa versabitur. Illic legenda est venia, quo cum spe ejus intrabitur. Sed hoc in Ecclesia legitur, et in Ecclesia pronuntiatur, et virgo est. Absit, absit a Sponsa Christi tale præconium. Illa quæ vera est, quæ pudica, quæ sancta, carebit etiam aurium maculis.’

CHAPTER XII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

About the same time with Tertullian, though as some think, rather earlier, flourished Clement of Alexandria, whose eulogium I have already quoted from Jerome, and whose name appears in your own Canon law, among the 'blessed.'

The testimony of this eminent writer with respect to the supremacy of the Church of Rome, is purely negative, and yet, to a candid mind, decisive. He mentions the Church, times without number, speaks of her unity, particularises the leading heresies, takes notice of the 'keys,' remarks on the preaching and acts of Peter, and yet never, by the slightest allusion, leads the reader to think that the Church was founded on Peter, that he had any authority over the other Apostles, that this authority was transferred to the Roman bishops, or that any one Church held a power of government over the rest. The kind of evidence here furnished, cannot be exhibited by extracts. But the inference is irresistible, that had the doctrine of Rome been then received as it is now, no writer of intelligence, traveling over the extensive field which the works of Clement cover, could have avoided a plain statement of the fact; or at least, some intelligible allusions to it.

I add a few passages from this celebrated author, as a

specimen of the whole. (68) 'To believe and to be regenerate, is perfection in life. There is no weakness with God. For as his will is work, and this is named the world, so his will is the salvation of men, and this is called the Church. He knew therefore those whom he called, and saved them, for he called and saved together.'

(69) 'But demonstration being required, it is necessary to descend to controversial questions, and to learn from the Scriptures themselves, demonstratively, in what manner heresies have fallen from truth, and how in the only truth and in the ancient Church, the most perfect knowledge is found.' Here he uses the phrase, Ancient Church, as Irenæus and Tertullian do, to signify the Church as it was first planted, without distinction of place, or of one Apostle over another.

(70) 'The Lord alone,' saith he, 'drank the cup for the purification of those who rejected and betrayed him. Whom the Apostles imitating, as being indeed gifted and perfect in

(68) 'Ουτω τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆναι, τέλειωσις ἔστιν ἐν ζωῇ. Ὁ γὰρ ποτε ἀσθενεῖ ὁ Θεός. Ὅς γὰρ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτο κόσμος ὀνομάζεται οὕτως καὶ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἔστι σωτηρία· καὶ τοῦτο Ἐκκλησία κέκληται. Οὐδεν ὄν ὄς κέκληκεν, ὅς σέσωκεν· κέκληκεν δὲ ἅμα καὶ σέσωκεν. Clem. Alex. Paedag. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. (p. 93.)

(69) 'Αποδείξεως δ' ὕψους, ἀνάγκη συγκαταβαίνειν εἰς τὰς ζητήσεις, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἀποδεικτικῶς, ὅπως μὲν ἀπεσφάλησαν αἱ αἱρέσεις, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἦτε ἀκριβεσάτε γινώσις.' Clem. Alexan. Strom. Lib. 7. (p. 755.)

(70) 'μόνος τοίνυν ὁ Κύριος διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπίστων ἀποκάθαρσιν, ἔπιεν τὸ ποτήριον· ὃν μιμούμενοι οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ ὄντι γνωστικοί, καὶ τέλειοι, ὑπερ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἃς ἔπηξαν, ἔπαθον. Ib. Lib. 4. (p. 503.)

knowledge, suffered for the Churches which they founded.' He adds no note of distinction, but speaks of all alike.

Again, it is worthy of remark, that the only preference Clement seems to express for one Apostle above the others, is expressed not for Peter, but for Paul; calling him in one place, (71) 'the good Apostle,' in another, (72) the 'noble Apostle,' and in two other places, (73) the 'divine Apostle,' whereas he gives Peter no such distinction.

Again, he speaks of the keys, of the Church, and of the Apostolical tradition, in a passage, which, though long, it will be proper to give in his own words.

(74) Alluding to the heretics of his day, he says, 'Who

(71) ὁ καλὸς Ἀπόστολος. Strom. Lib. 5. p. 562.

(72) τὸν γενναῖον Ἀπόστολον Strom. Lib. 2. p. 420.

(73) ὁ μὲν ὄν θεοπέποιος Ἀπόστολος. Strom. Lib. 1. p.

316.

“ τον θεῖον Ἀπόστολον. Strom. Lib. p. 274.

(74) οἱ τοίνυν τῶν ασεβῶν ἀπτόμενοι λόγων, ἄλλοις τε ἐξάρχοντες, μηδὲ εὐ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς θεοῖς ἀλλὰ ἐξημαρτημένως συζηρωμενοι, ὅτε αὐτοὶ εἰσίσιν εἰσίσιν εἰς τὴν βασιλειαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὅτε ὁὗς ἐξηπάτησαν, ἔωσιν τυγχάνειν τῆς ἀληθείας. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν κλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τῆς εἰσόδου, ψευδῆ δὲ τινα καὶ ὧς φησιν ἢ συνήθεια ἀντικλεῖδα, δι' ἧς οὐ τὴν αὐλαιαν ἀναπειάσαντες, ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παραδόσεως εἰσιμεν· παράθυραν δὲ ἀνατεμοντες, καὶ διάρύξαντες λάθρα τὸ τειχίον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπερβαινοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μυσταγωγοὶ τῆς τῶν ασεβῶν ψυχῆς καθιστανται, οἱ γὰρ μεταγενεστερὰς τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ταῖς ἀνθρωπινὰς συνηλώσεις πεποιήκασιν, οὐ πολλῶν δεῖ λόγων, ἢ γὰρ τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ τὴν παροισίαν διδασκαλία ἀπὸ Ἀυγούστου καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀρξάμενῃ μεσοῦντων τῶν Ἀυγούστου χρόνων τελειοῦται· ἢ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αὐτοὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Παύλου λειτουργίας, ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τελειοῦται κατὰ δὲ, περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανου τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνοις, οἱ τὰς ἀίρεσεις ἐπινοήσαν γενοῦσι, καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν ἡλικίας, καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλεὶδης, κ' ἂν Γλαυκίαν

use the divine word not rightly, but perversely, neither do they enter the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor suffer those whom they deceive to follow the truth. But they have not the key of the entrance themselves, but a certain false key, or as the common saying is, an anti-key, by which the veil is not unloosed, as it is to us who enter by the tradition of the Lord; but the door is cut off, and the wall of the Church privately dug through. Transgressing the truth, they become the rulers and leaders of the impious mysteries of the soul. But to prove that their conventicles are more recent than the Catholic Church, there is no need of many words. For the doctrine which was set forth at the coming of our Lord, as it began with Augustus, so it was finished in the middle of Tiberius' reign; and the teaching of the Apostles, to the end of the ministry of Paul, was finished in the time of Nero. But those who have put forth heresies were about the time of the emperor Adrian, and progressed until the age of the elder Antonine, such as Basilides, although he assumed to himself the mastership of Glaucia, who, as they boast, was the interpreter of Peter. In like manner they say, that Valentinus heard Theodades, who was the companion of Paul. But Marcion, who was born in the same age with these, consorted with them as an old man amongst youth, with whom was one Simon, who had listened for a little, while Peter preached. Which things

ἐπιγράφεται διδάσκαλον, ὡς ἀνχουσιν αὐτοί, τόν Πέτρον ἐρημνέα. ὡς αὐτος δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνον Θεοδάδι ἀνηκούεται φηροῖσιν γινώριμος δὲ οὗτος ἔγερονος Πάυλου. Μαρκίων γάρ, κατὰ την αὐτην αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος, ὡς πρεσβύτης, νεωτέρους συνεγένετο μεθ' ὃν Σίμων ἐπ' ὀλίγον, κηρύσσοντας τοῦ Πέτρον ὑπήκουσεν. ὡς οὗτοις ἔχονταν, συμφανές ἐκ τῆς προγενεσιᾶς τῆς καὶ ἀληθεσιᾶς ἐκκλησίας, τὰς μεταγενεσιᾶς ταύτας, καὶ τὰς ἔτι τούτων ἀποβεβηκυίας, τῷ χρόνῳ κεκαινοτομηθῆσαι παραχαραχθείσας αἰρέσεις, ἐκ τῶν ἐρημνέων ἄρα φανερον ὀμαι γεγενησθαι, μίαν εἶται την ἀληθῆ ἐκ-

if they were so, it is clear from the most ancient and true Church, that these are more recent, and those which are still lower down were in their time new heresies of spurious origin. From what has been said I think it manifest, that there is one true Church, that truly which is ancient, in the catalogue of which are reckoned those who are just, according to the divine purpose.'——'And with respect to the substance, with respect to knowledge, with respect to its beginning and excellency, we say that there is one only ancient and Catholic Church, in the unity of that one faith which is from the proper covenants, or rather from that covenant which is one in diverse times, in which are gathered together by the will of God, through one Lord, those who are already ordained to life, whom God predestinated, and knew they would be righteous, before the foundation of the world. And the eminency of this Church, as well as the beginning of its construction, is from unity, overcoming all other things, and having nothing which is its resemblance or its equal.'

Now here it is manifest that Clement regards the keys in the sense which Tertullian recognizes, namely, the interpretation of Scripture; which the heretics not having, by reason of their false doctrine, they attempt to enter the Church, not by the door, which they cut away, but by undermining the wall of the Church; all which figurative

*κλησίαν, την τω ὄντι ἀρχαίαν, εἰς ἣν οἱ κατὰ πρόθεσιν δίκαιοι ἐγκατέλεγον—
ται...κατὰ τε ὄν ἀπόστεισιν, κατὰ τε ἐπίνοιαν κατὰ τε ἀρχὴν, κατὰ τε ἐξοχὴν,
μονὴν εἶται φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ Καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἐνότητα πίστε-
ως μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὰς δικαιοσύνας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν
διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις εἰς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶ βούληματι, δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου
συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἰδὴ κατατεταγμένοις οὓς προώρτισεν ὁ Θεὸς, δικαιοῖς ἔσο-
μένοις πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἔγνωκώς. ἄλλα καὶ ἡ ἐξοχὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
καθ' ἃπερ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς συστάσεως, κατὰ τὴν μοναδὰ ἔστιν, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα
ὑπερβαλλουσα, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχουσα ὁμοίον ἢ ἴσον ἑαυτῇ.' Clem. Alex. St rom
Lib. 7. p. 764—5.*

language is ill adapted to the idea, that the Church of which Clement spake was a society to be discovered by its ecclesiastical connexion with one particular apostle, or by having its seat at Rome. He goes on to speak of the Catholic Church, as being one; but he refers this unity to its substance, its knowledge, its beginning, its excellency, and to the unity of the faith, as handed down from the apostles. And the mode in which he presents his argument seems hardly consistent with the notion that any one apostle was made pastor or governor over the rest, that the whole Church was built on Peter, and that his prerogative as chief ruler was committed to his successors in the See of Rome. For under these circumstances, would he not have confuted the heretics by the short and easy argument, derived from the principality of that Church, instead of resting all his reasoning on a different basis?

How natural and simple would it have been to say: 'The Church of Rome, to which the government of the whole kingdom of Christ has been committed, disclaims these heretics. Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus, have been condemned and cast off by the infallible decision of the vicar of Christ. This is the test of faith, the standard of sound doctrine, the bond of unity.' But nothing of the kind, brethren, can be found in the works of Clement. Is the inference unfair that he did not use your present reasoning simply because he did not hold your doctrine? Or must we suppose, in the face of all probability, that he did truly profess your sentiments with regard to the supremacy of Peter and the maternal domination of the Roman See, and yet omitted the slightest allusion to them in the very argument, where they would have been the most appropriate?

The force of this negative testimony, I am well aware, may make very different impressions on different minds.

Neither, as I have already intimated, can justice be done to it, by extracts. What I have cited, however, is a fair specimen of the mode in which this distinguished father treats the subject throughout : and if you, brethren, can reconcile it with the hypothesis, that he did, notwithstanding, teach your present doctrine, it must be by some process either of faith or of logic, altogether beyond my comprehension.

CHAPTER XIII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Next in the order of chronology, I turn to the celebrated Origen, whose name your canon law recognizes expressly, those things only being excepted which Jerome disapproves. The judgment of Jerome, I shall extract in full, by and by; to shew that the passages which are important for our present subject, are not in the least affected by it. So far from this, indeed, is the fact, that Jerome himself will furnish, in due time, strong confirmation.

First, then, let us look at a fine application of the figure of the keys, which will prove, in accordance with the other fathers, how well this term was understood, to signify the science of interpretation.

(76) 'On account of its obscurity,' says Origen, 'the

(76) 'Similem esse universam Scripturam divinitus afflatam propter obscuritatem quae in ea est, multis domiciliis uno aedificio conclusis; unicuique domicilio appositam clavem non ipsi convenientem, sicque dissipatas esse claves per domicilia, non respondentes singulas iis domiciliis quibus appositae sunt: opus vero longe difficillimum esse, invenire claves et eas cellis aptare, quas aperire possunt: itaque etiam Scripturas abstrusas quidem illas intelligi, non aliunde sumptis quam ab ipsis invicem argumentis intelligentiae, quae in se habent dispersam exponendi rationem.' Origen. Com. in Psal. Vide 'Origenis in Sacras Scripturas Commentaria,' Ed. Col. 1684. Tom. 1. p. 39. For convenience sake, I have cited, instead of the original Greek, your own latin version.

whole Scripture, divinely inspired, is like to many chambers within one house: but when the key applied to each chamber is not fitted to it, the keys become scattered through the chambers, not answering to those chambers to which they are applied; and it is truly a difficult work to find the proper keys and adapt them to the locks so that they may open them: thus it is that the more abstruse Scriptures are to be understood, the argument of our knowledge being taken no otherwise than from the Scriptures themselves, which have dispersed amongst them the reasons of their exposition.'

But in Origen's commentary on Matthew, we have his sentiments in full upon the subject, where we shall plainly see the clearest testimony to the point in question. It will require a very long extract to do it justice, but no labor should be thought too great for the searcher after truth.

After having commented for sometime on the confession of Peter: Thou art the Christ, &c. Origen proceeds as follows: (77) 'Which if we also shall say, as Peter did, Thou

(77) Origen. Comment. in Matt. ib. Tom. 1. p. 274-5. 'Quod si postquam dixerimus et nos, quemadmodum Petrus: *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi*, non quasi revelatum nobis fuerit à carne vel à sanguine, sed luce cordi nostro affulgente à Patre qui in cœlis est, Petrus efficitur; dicatur et nobis à Verbo: *Tu es Petrus*, et quae sequuntur. Petra enim est omnis Discipulus Christi, de quo bibebant, qui *bibebant spiritali consequente petra*: et super quamlibet ejusmodi petram ædificatur omnis sermo Ecclesiasticus, et vitæ juxta ipsum institutæ ratio: unicuique enim perfecto habenti congregationem sermonum beatitudinem perficientium, et operum, et cogitationum, inest Ecclesia à Deo ædificata. Si vero super unum illum solummodo Petrum totam Ecclesiam à Deo ædificari arbitraris, quid de Iohanne, tonitru filio, et unoquoque Apostolorum dixeris: Alioquin an audebimus dicere portas Inferi speciatim adversus Petrum non prævalituras, prævalituras autem adversus reliquos Apostolos, et perfectos? Nonne vero et in omnibus et in his singulis sit istud quod supra dictum est: *Portæ Inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam*, et illud

art the Christ, the Son of the living God, not as if it had been revealed to us by flesh and blood, but by the light shining in our hearts from the Father who is in heaven, we become as Peter, and it may be said by the Word unto us also, Thou art Peter, (sc. a stone or a rock) and what follows. For every disciple of Christ is a rock, from whom they drank who drank of the Spiritual Rock that followed them, and on every such rock every Ecclesiastical word is builded, and the system of life instituted accordingly; and on every such perfect man having the combination of precepts perfecting holiness, the Church is inwardly built by God. But if you suppose that the Church is built by God upon one single rock, (Peter) what do you say of John, the son of thunder, and every one of the other apostles?

quoque: *Super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam?* An etiam soli Petro dantur à Domino claves regni cœlorum, nec quisquam beatorum alius eas accipiet? Quod si et id aliis commune est; *Dabo tibi claves regni cœlorum*, quomodo et non ea quæ præcedunt, communia sunt, et quæ subnectuntur tanquam in Petrum dicta? Hic etenim velut in Petrum dicta videntur ea: *Quæcunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata in cœlis*, et quæ sequuntur: in Evangelio autem Iohannis Servator dans Spiritum sanctum Discipulis per insufflationem, dicit: *Accipite Spiritum sanctum*, et quæ sunt deinceps. Proinde multi dicent Servatori: *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi*, at non omnes illud dicentes, haudquaquam a carne et sanguine revelantibus hoc edocti dicent illi; sed ablato ab ipso Patre qui in cœlis est imposito cordi eorum velamine, ut postea *revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes* in Spiritu Dei loquantur, dicentes de illo: *Dominus Iesus*, et illi: *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi*. Et si quis hoc dicit illi, sibi non revelatum e carne et sanguine, sed a Patre qui in cœlis est, ea consequetur, quæ ut ait quidem litera Evangelii, Petro huic dicta sunt; ut docet autem Spiritus illius, cuilibet qui talis evadit, qualis erat ille Petrus. Nomen enim trahunt a Petra omnes imitatores Christi, spiritualis scilicet petrae consequentis eos qui salvi fiunt, ut ex ea spirituales portiones ebibant. Illi autem nomen trahunt a Petra, quemadmodum Christus; sed et cum Christi membra sint, nomine ab illo ducto Christiani appellati sunt; a Petra autem, Petri.

Or shall we say that the gates of hell were not to prevail specially against Peter? Were they then to prevail against the other apostles and perfect believers? Is it not plain, that to all and each the assurance is made good, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and this, also, Upon this rock I will build my Church? Or was it to Peter alone, that the Lord gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and did none other of the blessed receive them? And if this is common to the others: I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, how should not those things which precede it and which are evidently connected with it, as also said to Peter, be common likewise? For here it seems to be said to Peter: Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and what follows; but in the Gospel of John, the Saviour, giving the Holy Spirit to the disciples by breathing on them, says: Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose you shall retain they are retained. At this time also, many will say to the Saviour, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God; but not all who say this, do so because they have been taught by flesh and blood revealing it, but because our Father who is in heaven hath taken away the veil that was on their heart: that afterwards his face being revealed, they, beholding the glory of the Lord, might say by the Spirit of God: Lord Jesus, and to him: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And if any one say this to him, the revelation being made, not by flesh and blood, but by the Father which is in heaven, that will follow, which the letter of the gospel declares was said to Peter; for his spirit teaches him, that whosoever becomes such an one, he is the same as that Peter. For all the imitators of Christ derive their name from the rock—that spiritual rock which follows them who are saved, that

from it they should drink spiritual drink. They take their name from their rock, that is Christ: for as, because they are the members of Christ, by the name derived from him, they are called Christians, so from his being the rock, (Petra) they are called rocks.' (Petri or Peters.)

(78) 'Taking occasion from the same principle,' continues Origen, 'you may say that Christians are denominated the righteous, from the righteousness of Christ, the wise from the wisdom of Christ, and you may do the same with all his other names, applying them to the saints; and whosoever shall be such as these names signify, to them it shall be said by the Saviour: Thou art Peter, with what follows to the passage: They shall not prevail against it. What does this word: *It*, signify? Is it the rock on which Christ builds the Church, or the Church? The word is ambiguous: whether is this because the rock and the Church mean the same thing? I think this to be the truth; for neither against the rock, upon which Christ builds the Church, nor against the Church, shall the gates of hell prevail.'

(79) 'But although the gates of hell are many and al-

(78) *Ib.* p. 276. *Inde vero accepta occasione justos a' Christi justitia, sapientes a' Christi sapientia denominatos esse dices; idemque facies de reliquis ejus nominibus, nomina in Sanctos ducens; et quicumque tales fuerint, dicetur iis a' Servatore illud quod ita se habet: Tu es Petrus, et quæ sequuntur; ad id usque; Non prævalebunt adversus eam: Quam autem, Eam? an enim petram, super quam Christus ædificat Ecclesiam, an Ecclesiam? ambigua quippe locutio est: an quasi unam, eandemq; rem, Petram et Ecclesiam? Hoc ego verum esse existimo: nec enim adversus petram, super quam Christus Ecclesiam ædificat, nec adversus Ecclesiam portæ Inferi prævalebunt.*

(79) *ib.* p. 277. B. *At cum multæ sint et vix numerandæ Inferi portæ, nulla Inferi porta prævalebit adversus Petram, vel Ecclesiam*

most innumerable, no gate of hell shall prevail against the rock or the Church which Christ builds upon it.' —
 'And this is truly to be known, that as the several gates of cities have their appropriate names, in like manner the names of the several gates of hell may be taken from the various forms of sin: so that one gate of hell is fornication, through which the lewd take their way; another is the denial of justice, through which those descend to hell who deny the claims of God. And truly every one of the heterodox who bring forth any science falsely so called, has built a gate of hell: Marcion has erected one, Basilides another, and Valentinus another. Here, therefore, these gates are called the gates of hell. But in the Psalms the prophet gives thanks, saying: Thou callest me from the gates of death, that I may declare thy praise in the gates of the daughter of Zion. And from this place we learn that no one can ever declare the praise of God, unless he has been raised from the gates of death, and has attained the gates of Zion. And the gates of Zion may be understood as the opposite to the gates of death, so that as one gate of death is luxury, so the gate of Zion is Chastity; a gate of death again is injustice, but the gate of Zion justice; which the

quam super illam Christus aedificat.' — 'Atque id quidem scendum est, quemadmodum urbium portae singulae propria habent nomina: eodem modo portis Inferi pro variis peccatorum formis nomina imponi posse; ita ut una Inferi porta fornicatio appelletur, per quam iter faciunt scortatores; altera autem inficiatio, per quam in infernum descendunt, qui Deum inficiantur. Jam vero et unusquisque illorum qui diversis ab Ecclesia opinionibus adhaerent, et aliquam falsi nominis scientiam genuerunt, portam Inferi aedificavit, aliam quidem Marcion, Basilides aliam, et aliam Valentinus. Hic igitur portae Inferorum dictae sunt. In Psalmis vero gratias agit Propheta dicens: *Qui exaltas me de portis mortis, ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiae Sion.* Atque ex hoc loco discimus fieri nunquam posse, ut qui non exaltatus fuerit de portis mortis, et ad portas Sion non

prophet shewing saith: This is the gate of the Lord, the just shall go in thereat; again, the gate of death is fear, the gate of Zion, fortitude; folly is the gate of death, but wisdom is the gate of Zion.'

(80) 'We see by all this, how it may be said to Peter, and to every one who is as Peter: I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And first, indeed, I think these words are to be connected with the others: The gates of hell shall not prevail against it; for he who is defended against the gates of hell, so that they prevail not against him, is worthy to receive from the divine Word himself the keys of the kingdom of heaven as a reward, that as the gates of hell could do nothing against him, he, receiving the keys of the kingdom of heaven, might open to himself those gates which are shut to all who are overcome by the gates of hell; and thus the key which opens the lock of chastity

pervenerit, omnes laudationes Dei annuntiare possit. Portae autem Sion contrariae portis mortis intelligi possint, adeo ut porta mortis, sit luxuria; porta autem Sion, castitas, mortis item, injustitia; Sion vero, justitia, quam ostendens Propheta ait: *Hæc porta Domini, justi intrabunt in eam*; et rursum mortis porta, sit timiditas; fortitudo vero, Sion; imprudentia, mortis: contraria autem illi sapientia, Sion.

(80) Ib. p. 278. D. Post hæc videmus, quomodo dictum sit Petro, et cuilibet qui Petrus est: *Dabo tibi claves regni cælorum*. Et primum quidem existimo his verbis; *Portae Inferi non praevalent adversus eam*, convenienter id esse subnexum; *Dabo tibi claves regni cælorum*: nam qui contra inferi portas munitus est, ut adversus eum non praevalerent, dignus est qui ab ipso Verbo claves regni cælorum accipiat; quasi præmium, quod nihil adversus illum portae Inferi potuerint, claves accipiens regni cælorum, ut sibi portas reseret claudas iis qui ab Inferi portis victi sunt: et ingreditur quidem ut castus per portam pudicitiae, clave pudicitiam aperiente reseratam; et per aliam, ut justus, aperta justitiae porta clave justitiae: et sic de caeteris virtutibus. Opinor enim pro unaquaque virtute scientiae, quaedam sapientiae mysteria virtutis formae congruentia aperiri ei qui juxta virtutem vixerit; dante scilicet Salvatore iis qui ab Inferi portis subacti non fuerint totidem claves quot virtutes sunt, totidem numero portas

admits him into the gate of chastity, and the key of righteousness admits him into the gate of righteousness, and so of the other virtues. For I think that for each virtue of knowledge there are certain mysteries of wisdom corresponding to this form of virtue, opened to him who lives according to that virtue; the Saviour giving to those who were not subdued by the gates of hell, as many keys as there are virtues, opening as many gates and corresponding to each virtue according to the relation of its appropriate mysteries. Perhaps too, each virtue is a kingdom of heaven, and the whole together, is the kingdom of the heavens; so that he who lives according to these virtues is already in the kingdom of the heavens; and therefore this passage: Repent, for the kingdom of the heavens is at hand, would be referred not to the time, but to actions and affections. For Christ, who is all virtue, is at hand, and declares that the kingdom of heaven is not here or there, but that the kingdom of God is within his disciples. But behold, what power is pos-

aperientes, unicuique virtuti juxta mysteriorum revelationem respondentes. Fortasse autem unaquæque virtus cœli regnum est, et tota simul regnum cœlorum est; adeo ut juxta id jam in regno cœlorum sit qui vivit secundum virtutes; atque ita ut illud; *Pœnitentiam agite, appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum*, juxta id non ad tempus, sed ad actiones et affectiones referatur. Christus enim, qui omnis virtus est, præsto est, et loquitur, proptereaque *regnum Dei intra* Discipulos illius est, non autem hic et hic. Vide autem quanta vi polleat petra, super quam a Christo ædificatur Ecclesia, et quicumque dicit: *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi*, ut illius judicia firma maneant; quasi Deo in illo judicante, ut in ipso jure dicendo portæ Inferi adversus eum non prævalent. Adversus eum igitur qui injuste judicat, et non juxta Verbum Dei ligat super terram, neque ex illius sententia solvit super terram, portæ Inferi prævalent: adversus quem autem portæ Inferi non prævalent, is juste judicat. Ideirco claves habet regni cœlorum, aperiens iis qui soluti sunt super terram, ut et in coelis soluti sint ac liberi; et claudens iis qui justo illius judicio ligati sunt super terram, ut et in coelis ligati ac condemnati sunt.'

essed by the rock on which Christ builds the Church, and by him who says: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God; the power, namely, that his judgments may remain firm, as of God, justified by him, so that through this judgment the gates of hell may not prevail against him. Therefore against him who judges unjustly, and does not bind according to the word of God upon the earth, nor looses according to his sentence, the gates of hell prevail: but that man against whom the gates of hell do not prevail, judges rightly. For this reason he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, opening to those who are loosed upon the earth, that in the heavens they may be loosed and free, and shutting to those who are bound by his just judgment upon earth, that they may also be bound and condemned in the heavens.'

(81) 'But since there are some who interpret this passage of the Episcopacy, as being Peter, and teach that by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, received from the Saviour, those things which are bound by them, that is, condemned, are bound in heaven, and those which are loosed on earth are

(81) *Ib.* p. 279. D. 'Quoniam autem qui Episcopatus locum vendicant, dictum hoc usurpant, sicut Petrus, et acceptis a servatore clavibus regni cœlorum docent ea quæ a se ligata sunt, hoc est condemnata, ligata esse et in coelis, et quæ a se soluta sunt, soluta esse et in coelis; pronuntiandum est rectè illos dicere, si factum etiam habuerint propter quod Petro huic dictum est; *Tu es Petrus*; ac si tales sunt, ut super illos aedificetur Ecclesia a Christo, et ad illos jure id referri possit. Portæ autem Inferi praevalere non debent adversus eum qui ligare vult et solvere. Quod si *funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur*, frustra et ligat et solvit.'

'Si quis autem qui Petras non fuerit, nec ea habuerit quæ hic dicta sunt, sicut Petrus ligaturum se credit super terram, ita ut quæ ligata fuerint, sint ligata et in coelis; et soluturum se super terram, ita ut quæ soluta fuerint, sint soluta et in coelis, superbus ille est, nesciens Scripturarum sensum, et *superbia elatus in crimen incidit Diaboli.*' *ib.* p. 280.

loosed in heaven ; it may be said that they say truly, if they have the quality, on account of which it was said to Peter : Thou art Peter, and if they are such, that upon them the Church can be built by Christ, and this privilege can be justly granted to them. But the gates of hell ought not to prevail against him who would bind and loose. For if he is bound by the cords of his sins, he binds and looses in vain.' — 'Therefore, if any one be not what Peter was, nor be possessed of those qualities which have been mentioned, and yet thinks that he, like Peter, can bind upon the earth, so that those things which he binds shall be also bound in heaven, and that he can loose upon the earth, so that whatever he looses shall be loosed also in heaven, that man is proud, not knowing the sense of the Scriptures, and being lifted up with pride he falls into the crime of the devil.'

It is surely impossible, brethren, to ask for language more plain than this, to prove that Origen had no knowledge of the doctrine of your supremacy. He takes notice, indeed, of the claim which some were beginning to put forth on behalf of the bishops in general, that the power of the keys granted to Peter was a power belonging to *the Episcopacy* ; but that this was appropriated to any one bishop as superior over the rest, or that any one diocese was the mother and mistress of all the Churches, because it was the See of St. Peter,—these notions had evidently not reached Origen's ears, or it is manifest that he would have alluded to them in his Commentary. His views in the main, seem the same as those of Tertullian, that the keys of the kingdom were granted alike to every spiritual Christian. He considers the Church built by Christ upon the rock, against which the gates of hell should not prevail, as being the kingdom of God established in the soul ; and his entire view

of this famous passage of the divine word, by which you endeavour to defend your title to universal dominion, is utterly subversive of your claim to the sanction of the primitive day.

I am aware that you are accustomed to evade the testimony of Origen by condemning him as a heretic. And therefore, I proceed to prove the high character given to him by your own writers, and especially by Jerome, the greatest oracle amongst the fathers, according to your own Canon law.

The distinguished *Huetius*, one of the most learned writers of your communion, treating on the very point whether Origen could be considered as a heretic, denies that he was so, although there were many erroneous things in his books. He rests his opinion on these grounds: that although Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, with the consent of many others, condemned Origen, yet his cause was maintained by Palestine, Arabia, Phenice and Achaia, and he was continued and died in the communion of the Catholic Church: that the clamour raised against him was the result of envy; that he delivered the profession of his faith to Fabian the bishop of Rome; and that Leo III. at a later day, inserted many extracts from the works of Origen in the Roman Breviary. Huetius also well remarks, that if every man is to be adjudged a heretic whose works contain passages contrary to the approved doctrine of the Church of Rome, 'the greater part of the orthodox fathers must also be called heretics, such as Irenæus, Papias, Cyprian,' &c. and lastly, he quotes with approbation the sentiment of Jerome concerning Origen, where he says: 'This one thing I declare freely: I would willingly take the prejudice against his name, if I could have therewith his knowledge of the Scriptures; and I should make very light of those

phantoms, those shades of goblins or ghosts, the nature of which is said to be, to frighten children and to gibber in the dark.' (82)

In another part of this very learned treatise, your author, Huetius, states the fact, that after Origen's death such was the universal celebrity and estimation of his doctrines, that Methodius, the bishop of Tyre, who had impugned them, could find no one to agree with him: almost all adhered to Origen. And this extraordinary honor continued until the time of Arius, who, deriving some support for his opinions,

(82) 'Qui contrarias autem sectantur partes, talia regerunt, a Demetrio licet, plurimisque ipsi consentientibus Episcopis segregatus fuerit ab Ecclesia Origenes, ipsius tamen causam suscepisse et propugnasse Palestinam, Arabiam, Phoeniciam, et Achaïam: et juxta testificationem Hieronymi, non ipsius errores, sed adversariorum invidiam has ei turbas peperisse.'——'Quis Ecclesiae communionem simulate secretum eum existimet, qui fidei professionem ad Fabianum Papam dedit, exorientes haereses acerrime insectatus est, nullam cum haereticis societatem iniiit, Catholicorum Episcoporum familiaritate ad mortem usque constanter usus est?'——'Denique suam famam et nomen satis asseruit Leo III, Pontifex Maximus, cum inter Lectiones ex Patrum lucubrationibus decerptas, et Romano insertas Breviario, nonnullas quoque ex Origenianis libris petitas eidem inseruit.'

'Qui ergo omnem haereseos suspicionem ab Origene abesse volunt, cum iis qui invidioso Haeretici nomine ipsum infamant, ita conciliari posse censeo; si duplici notione sumi Haeretici appellationem dicamus, vel ad eum significandum qui haeresin aut fabrefecerit aut secutus sit, eam licet ejurare paratus, simulatque fuisse ab Ecclesia repudiata; vel ad designandum eum qui non haereseos duntaxat auctor et assecla; sed perpetuus etiam propugnator, et pertinax adversus Ecclesiae auctoritatem assertor fuerit: priore igitur notione Haeretici nomen a Patribus Adamantio imponi, ut haereseos auctor, non assertor significetur. Quo sensu orthodoxi quoque Patres quamplurimi haeretici dici possunt, velut Irenaeus, Papias, Cyprianus et alii.'

'Acquiescamus igitur in hoc Hieronymi placito e Traditionibus Ebraicis: *Hoc unum dico: vellem cum invidia nominis ejus, habere etiam scientiam Scripturarum, flocci pendens imagines, umbrasque larvarum, quarum natura esse dicitur, terrere parvulos, et in angulis garrere tenebrosis.*' Vide Origenianorum, Pet. Dan. Huet. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 194—5.

as was supposed, from the writings of Origen, brought them into dispute with many. (83)

But I am not concerned so much with the defence of Origen's opinions, as with the simple question of his testimony on the antiquity of your claims. And I beg leave to observe, brethren, that the universal credit which his name obtained for such a length of time, gives more than common weight to this testimony. If, as you say, our Redeemer granted to Peter a power of authority and government over the other Apostles, and this power or authority was conferred upon the successors of Peter in the Church of Rome, so that, by divine right, Peter first, and the bishops of Rome after him, were regarded as holding the place of Christ and God upon the earth, it is impossible that any of the fathers whom I have cited could have been ignorant of it, and especially was this impossible in a doctor of such reputation and influence as Origen. But so far was Origen from maintaining this doctrine, that he interprets *the very passages* of Scripture on which you rest, as if he had never heard of such a claim; and is yet so unconscious of any wrong done to the bishop of Rome, that he sends him a written statement of his opinions. Mark, too, I beseech you, what your Huetius records, that Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, was the author and inciter of all the opposition against Origen. (84) Why was not the bishop of

(83) 'Sane tanta erat his temporibus Origenianae doctrinae celebritas et existimatio, ut hinc ad facti poenitentiam adductum fuisse credam Methodium, cum vix quemquam ad suas pelliceret partes; cuncti ferme Adamantio adhacrescerent.' Pet. D. Huet. Origenianorum. Lib. 2. § 3. p 197.

'A Methodii aetate ad Ariana tempora suus Origeni honos videtur constituisse. Orto autem Ario, patrociniū haeresi suae quaerentes Ariani, Adamantii nomen causae suae praetexere studuerunt' ib.

(84) 'Demonstratum est autem turbarum omnium, quae adversus Or-

Rome active against him, if that bishop then claimed his present prerogatives? Why was not Origen then attacked on this very ground? Nay, even when Jerome, long afterwards, published those censures of Origen's errors which are adopted as a part of your own Canon law, why were not his sentiments, so adverse to the primacy, exposed to reprobation?*

The answer to all this, can only be found in the *fact*, that the primitive Church of Rome advanced no such claim, nor had the primitive Church Catholic at this time ever heard of it.

igenem magno Ecclesiae detrimento concitatae sunt, auctorem et incentorem fuisse Demetrium Alexandrinum.' ib- § 1. p. 196.

*The judgment of Jerome concerning Origen's works, will be found in that part of the volume where the testimony of Jerome is examined.

CHAPTER XIV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The regular examination of the testimony of antiquity, brings us next to that justly celebrated man, who was so warm an admirer of Tertullian, the distinguished Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and a martyr. He flourished about A. D. 250, and as there is no subject more frequent in his writings than the Church and the episcopate, so there is none on which his doctrines are more at variance with your present claims of supremacy.

In examining his testimony, however, justice requires that all which appears to favour your doctrine should be fully set forth, and therefore I shall commence with the passages which seem to justify your ground, and then proceed to those which demonstrate the difference between the primacy acknowledged by Cyprian, and the primacy claimed by you.

‘ There is one God,’ says Cyprian, ‘ and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the voice of the Lord upon Peter. That any other altar should be erected, or a new priesthood be established, besides that one altar and that one priesthood, is impossible. Whoever attempts to gather otherwise, scatters.’ (85)

(85) ‘ Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una ecclesia, et cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata. Aliud altare constitui, aut ser-

Again, speaking of the election of Cornelius as bishop of Rome, he uses this language, (86) 'He' (sc. Cornelius) 'was made bishop by many of our colleagues who were then at Rome, who sent unto us illustrious letters to his praise and honor, in testimony of his preaching and his ordination. And Cornelius was therefore made bishop by the judgment of God and of Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the people who were present with their suffrage, and by the college of ancient priests and good men; and no one was appointed before him, when the place of Fabian, that is, the place of Peter and the degree of his sacerdotal chair was vacant, which he now occupies by the will of God and the consent of us all.'

I shall have occasion to advert to this passage again, when your change of the primitive plan of electing your Popes is in question. The difference between the mode in which Cyprian relates this matter and your present mode of electing by your college of Cardinals, without the slightest agency on the part of either clergy or people, is striking indeed. But I quote it now, in order to give you the benefit of that part of it, in which the See of Rome is called the chair of Peter.

Again, complaining of the schismatical attempt of No-

cerdotium novum fieri praeter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium, non potest. Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit. Cyp. ad Pleb. Epist. p. 59.

(86) 'Et factus est Episcopus a plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Roma aderant, qui ad nos litteras honorificas, et laudabiles, et testimonio suae praedicationis illustres de ejus ordinatione miserunt. Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus de Dei et Christi judicio, de Clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum, antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio; cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri et gradus Cathedrae sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato,' &c. Cyp. Epist. ad Antonian. p. 75.

vation to become the bishop of Rome, Cyprian says : (87) ‘Afterwards they presume to rest upon a false bishop created by heretics, and to carry letters from schismatics and profane persons to the chair of Peter and to the principal Church, from whence the ecclesiastical unity has arisen, nor do they recollect that they are Romans, (whose faith, in the Apostles’ preaching is praised) to whom perfidy can have no access.’

Once more, Cyprian, speaking of heretical baptisms, says, (88) ‘there is one baptism, and one Holy Spirit, and one Church founded on Peter by Christ our Lord, for the sake and the origin of unity.’

Now these passages look very like your doctrine, and yet, when faithfully compared with others from the same writer, do in reality prove nothing of the kind. The idea of Cyprian was, that the Apostolic or the episcopal office was one, that the calling of Peter and the giving him his official authority was the beginning of it, and therefore that the Church was founded on him, in and with whom the other Apostles were included, for the better maintaining of this unity. That the Church of Rome was the seat of Peter, Cyprian doubtless believed ; and therefore he attaches the same importance to it, that he attaches to Peter in relation to the other Apostles ; but all this amounted to no more than what belongs to the foreman of a jury, the senior judge upon the bench, the precedency among peers, or any

(87) ‘Post ista adhuc insuper pseudoepiscopo sibi ab hæreticis constituto, navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram atque ad Ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis litteras ferre, nec cogitare eos esse Romanos (quorum fides, Apostolo prædicante, laudata est) ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum.’ Cyp. ad Cornel. de Fortunat. et Felicis.’ p. 95.

(88) ‘Quando et baptisma unum sit, et Spiritus Sanctus unus, et una Ecclesia a Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata.’ Cyp. epist. ad Januar. p. 133.

other case, in which a number being united in the same work with the same powers, one, for the sake of order, goes before the rest. That this was the extent of Cyprian's deference to the bishop of Rome will be abundantly manifest from the following extracts.

(89) 'Our Lord,' saith he, 'whose precepts we ought to reverence and observe, establishing the honor of the bishop and the system of his Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter: I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Thence, by the flux of times and successions, the ordination of bishops and the system of the Church runs along, so that the Church is built upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is governed by those presidents, and this is by the divine law,' &c.

Again, (90) saith Cyprian, 'By Christ, there is one

(89) *Dominus noster, cujus præcepta metuere et observare debemus, Episcopi honorem, et Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in Evangelio loquitur, et dicit Petro: Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, et super istam petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincunt eam, et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, et quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cælis, et quæcumque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cælis. Inde per temporum et successionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio, et Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur: et omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem Præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, &c.'* Cyprian. *Lapsis Epist.* p. 42.

(90) *'Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordia numerositate diffusus; ille post Dei traditionem, post connexam et ubique conjunctam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem,' &c.* Cyp. *ad Antonian. Epist.* p. 81.

Church through the whole world divided in many members, for the Episcopate is one, diffused by the harmonious host of many bishops, and this, according to the tradition of God, is the connected and every where conjoined unity of the Catholic Church,' &c.

Again, (91) 'The Episcopate,' says he, 'is one, of which a part is held by each bishop, in the whole. The Church also is one, which is extended more widely by the increase of its fecundity; in like manner there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of the tree, but one strength founded in the firm root; and though many rivulets flow from one fountain, and although the number of these streams is diffused in the extent of overflowing abundance, nevertheless unity is preserved in the origin.'

Again, in a passage which is full of excellent instruction to the ministers of Christ, Cyprian states as follows: (92) 'In all things,' saith he, 'we ought to hold the unity of the Catholic Church, nor in any thing of faith and virtue should we yield to her enemies. We should not admit the prescription of custom, but should rather be overcome by reason. For Peter, whom the Lord chose first, and upon

(91) 'Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur: quo modo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum: et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum: et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiarum largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine.' Cyp. De unitat. Eccles. p. 208.

(92) Per omnia debemus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitatem tenere, nec in aliquo fidei et veritatis hostibus cedere. Non est autem de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum. Nam nec Petrus quem primum Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcissione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumpsit; ut diceret se prima-

whom he built his Church, when Paul disputed with him on the subject of circumcision, claimed nothing insolently to himself, nor arrogantly assumed any thing. Nor did he say that he held the primacy, and that it was fit that Paul should comply with him in his new and lately devised ways. Nor did he despise Paul because he had been a persecutor of the Church, but admitted the counsel of truth, and readily yielded to the lawful argument which Paul set forth, thus leaving to us an example of concord and patience, that we should not love our own notions too well, but should yield occasionally to those things which our brethren and colleagues usefully and wisely suggest, and if they are true and lawful, prefer their suggestions to our own. To which thing Paul also looking forward, and consulting faithfully for the interest of concord and peace, placed this maxim in his epistle, saying: 'Let the prophets speak by two or three, and let the others examine. But if any thing be revealed to another sitting by, let the first hold his peace,' &c.

These passages shew clearly the equality of right and authority claimed by Cyprian in relation to the bishop of Rome; and his conviction that the primacy of Peter and the primacy of the Roman Church, conferred no right of jurisdiction on the apostle over his brethren, nor on the bishop of any one diocese over the rest. But the matter does not

tum tenere, et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi potius oportere. Nec despexit Paulum quod ecclesiae prius persecutor fuisset, sed consilium veritatis admisit, et rationi legitimae quam Paulus vindicabat, facile consensus; documentum scilicet nobis et concordiae et patientiae tribuens, ut non pertinaciter nostra amemus, sed quae aliquando a fratribus et collegis nostris utiliter et salubriter suggeruntur, si sint vera et legitima, ipsa potius nostra ducamus. Cui rei Paulus quoque prospiciens, et concordiae et paci fideliter consulens in epistola sua posuit, dicens: Prophetæ autem duo, aut tres loquantur, et caeteri examinent: si autem alii revelatum fuerit sedenti, ille prior taceat.' &c. Cypriani Epist. ad Quint. p. 140.

rest upon these proofs alone. There are other passages still more conclusive, which I cannot pass by in justice to the truth.

Thus, in many of the epistles of Cyprian, speaking of Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, he calls him (93) 'his colleague,' his 'fellow bishop,' 'his brother,' in no one instance giving him any title of superior respect or reverence, but invariably using the language of the most absolute equality.

Again, assigning the reason why Rome takes precedence of Carthage, he makes not the slightest allusion to any difference among the Apostles, or amongst the bishops who succeeded them; but puts it on the ground of local advantage, according to the principle mentioned before. 'Plainly, therefore,' saith he, 'on account of its magnitude, Rome ought to precede Carthage.' (94)

But nothing tries the strength of comparative authority, like the occurrence of a dispute or controversy; and this test offers itself as the most irrefragable evidence of the doctrine held on the point of supremacy by our present witness. It is familiarly known to you, brethren, that Stephen, the bishop of Rome, next but one after Cornelius, maintained the validity of baptism when administered by heretics and schismatics, and was warmly opposed on this account by Cyprian and the bishops of Africa, who held a provincial council on the subject. And it ought to be as familiarly known, that Cyprian and his colleagues of Africa yielded not one jot to their brother and colleague of Rome, but defended

(93) 'Cum Cornelio, coëpiscopo nostro.'—'Cornelium collegam nostrum.' Cyp. Epist. ad Antonian. p. 73.

'Cognovimus, frater charissime, fidei, ac virtutis vestrae.' Cyp. Epist. ad Cornelium. p. 104.

(94) 'Planè quondam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere.' Cyp. ad Cornelium epist. 70.

their position with the most absolute independence and equality. Some of the many passages which prove this assertion, I shall now place before you.

The epistle written to Stephen by Cyprian and the rest, after the holding of the Council, furnishes our first authority.

(95) 'In order to correct and dispose certain matters,' saith he, 'by the examination of common counsel, we found it necessary, most dear brother, to collect together many bishops into one, and celebrate a council. In which many things truly were proposed and transacted; but that about which we desired most to write to you, and confer with your gravity and wisdom, and which concerns most nearly the authority of the priesthood, and the unity and dignity of the Catholic Church derived from the ordination of the divine will, was the subject of those who are baptized without the Church, stained with profane water amongst heretics and schismatics, and who, when they come to us and to the Church which is one, we judged it fit to have baptized, because we think it little worth to give them the imposition of hands for the reception of the Holy Spirit, unless they have first received the baptism of the Church.' After this

(95) 'Ad Stephanum Papam de Concilio.

Cyprianus et caeteri Stephano, Salutem.

'Ad quaedam disponenda et consilii communis examinatione limanda, necesse habuimus frater charissime, convenientibus in unum pluribus sacerdotibus cogere et celebrare concilium. In quo multa quidem prolata atque transacta sunt; sed de eo vel maxime tibi scribendum, et cum tua gravitate ac sapientia conferendum fuit, quod magis pertineat, et ad sacerdotalem auctoritatem et ad Ecclesiae catholicae unitatem pariter ac dignitatem, de divinae dispositionis ordinatione venientem, eos qui sint foris extra Ecclesiam tincti, et apud haereticos et schismaticos profanae aquae labe maculati quando ad nos atque ad Ecclesiam, quae una est, venerint, baptizari, oportere: eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum sanctum, nisi accipiant et Ecclesiae baptismum,' Cyp. opp. p. 141.

introduction, Cyprian proceeds to explain and support his doctrine, and concludes in the following words, viz.

(96) 'These things we have addressed to your conscience most dear brother, for the common honor and for sincere love, believing that those things which are religious and true, will also be acceptable to you in the truth of your faith and religion. But we know that certain men are unwilling to lay aside any opinion which they have ever imbibed, or to change readily their own purpose; but the bond of peace and concord amongst their colleagues being preserved, they retain whatever sentiments they have once adopted. In which matter, we neither give law nor offer violence to any one; since every bishop exercises the free choice of his own will in the administration of the Church, having to render an account of his acts to the Lord. We wish you, most dear brother, all prosperity.'

Stephen, however, as you know, brethren, neither adopted the counsel of the African bishops, nor allowed them the right to decide the matter for themselves; but asserting against them the custom of the Church of Rome, and claiming its descent from the time of the apostles, he took it upon him, as Victor had done in the days of Irenæus about the Easter controversy, to refuse communion with those that dissented from his doctrine. Had your present system been,

(96) 'Haec ad conscientiam tuam, frater charissime, et pro honore communi, et pro simplici dilectione pertulimus, credentes etiam tibi pro religionis tuae et fidei veritate placere, quae et religiosa pariter et vera sunt. Caeterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas pacis, et concordiae vinculo, quaedam propria, quae apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus; cum habeat in Ecclesiae administratione voluntatis suae arbitrium liberum unusquisque praepositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. Optamus te frater charissime semper bene valere.' *ib.* p. 142.

at that time, the acknowledged system of the Church, this act of Stephen would have produced one of those two results : either Cyprian and his African colleagues must have submitted immediately, or they must have been cut off as obstinate schismatics. But neither of these results were apprehended, nor did either take place. Cyprian did not submit, but severely censured Stephen for his course, and denied the truth of the Roman tradition. And yet so far was he from being condemned for his independence, that he stands upon your list as a saint, and is termed the blessed Cyprian by your own Canon law. What gives the greater force to this example is the fact with which you are well acquainted, that the council of Arles, in the early part of the following century, long after both these parties had resigned their earthly stewardship, adopted the sentiment of Stephen on the very point in question : so that the independence of Cyprian and his resistance to Stephen, cannot be tolerated on the ground that the *doctrine* of Cyprian was right. His independence was right, although his doctrine was wrong ; and hence, as we shall see when we come to the history of that Council, the very same men who adopted the doctrine of Stephen on the point of baptism, confirmed the independence of the African Church.

But the proofs are not yet cited for the African bishops' resistance to Stephen. They are the following : Arguing against the opinion of Stephen that the blessings of baptism can be conferred through the instrumentality of heretics, Firmilian, one of the African bishops, in a letter to Cyprian, saith : (97) 'How great is the error, how

(97) 'Qualis vero error sit, et quanta sit caecitas ejus qui remissionem peccatorum dicit apud synagogas haeticorum dari posse, nec permanet in fundamento unius Ecclesiae quae semel a Christo supra petram solidata est ; hinc intelligi potest, quod soli Petro Christus dixit

strange the blindness of him who says that the remission of sins can be given in the synagogues of heretics, and continues not upon the foundation of that one Church, which was once built by Christ upon the rock; he should understand that to Peter alone, Christ said, Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall also be loosed in heaven. And again, the gospel, when Christ breathed only on his apostles, saying to them: Receive the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted to them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained. The power therefore of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the Churches, which they, being sent from Christ, established, and to the bishops which succeeded them by regular ordination. But those enemies of that one Catholic Church in which we are, those adversaries of us who have succeeded the Apostles, defending their unlawful priesthood against us,

crit: Quaecunq̄ue ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in coelis; et quaecunq̄ue solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in coelis, et iterum in Evangelio quando in solos Apostolos insufflavit Christus dicens: Accipite Spiritum sanctum: si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi; et si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur. Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum Apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt. Hostes autem unius Catholicae ecclesiae in qua nos sumus, et adversarii nostri qui Apostolis successimus, sacerdotia sibi illicita contra nos vindicantes, et altaria prophana ponentes; quid aliud sunt quam Chore et Dathan et Abiron, pari scelere sacrilegi, et easdem quas et illi poenas daturi cum his qui sibi consentiunt, secundum quod etiam tunc illorum participes et fautores pariter cum eis perierunt. Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de Episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem fundamenta ecclesiae collocata sunt, multas alias petras inducat, et ecclesiarum multarum nova aedificia constituat, dum esse illic baptisma sua auctoritate defendit.' Firmilian. ad Cyprian. Epist. Opp. Cyp. p. 157.

and setting up a profane altar,—what else are they but **Ko-rah**, **Dathan**, and **Abiram**, in an equal sin of sacrilege, and sure to obtain for all who unite with them the same punishment; even as we know that the companions and favorers of these men perished with themselves. Therefore I am justly indignant at this so open and manifest folly of **Stephen**, who, while he so boasts of the place of his bishoprick, and contends that he holds the succession of **Peter**, upon whom the foundations of the Church were placed, nevertheless, brings in other rocks, and builds the new edifices of many Churches, while he defends their baptism by his authority.'

Again, in another passage of the same epistle, we find the following: (98) 'Those who are of **Rome** do not in all things observe what was delivered from the beginning, and they vainly pretend the authority of the apostles. Every one may know, that with respect to the day for keeping **Easter**, and many other rites of religion, there are diversities amongst them, nor do they equally observe there, all those things which are observed at **Jerusalem**. The same diversity may be seen in many of the provinces: many things are varied through the changes of times and language, and yet there is no departure on this account from the peace

(98) 'Eos autem qui Romae sunt non ea in omnibus observare quae sint ob origine tradita, et frustra apostolorum auctoritatem praetendere: scire quis etiam inde potest, quod circa celebrandos dies paschæ, et circa multa alia divinae rei sacramenta, videat esse apud illos aliquas diversitates, nec observari illic omnia æqualiter, quae Hierosolymis observantur. Secundum quod in caeteris quoque plurimis provinciis, multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur; nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholice pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rumpens adversus vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum amore et honore mutuo custodierunt: adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos Apostolos, quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint.' *ib.* p. 159.

and unity of the Catholic Church. But Stephen has presumed to disturb this concord and unity, breaking towards you the peace which his predecessors always maintained with you in love and mutual honor: even defaming the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, as if they delivered his doctrine.'

And again, (99) 'We,' saith Firmilian, 'join custom to truth, and we oppose to the custom of the Romans a custom which is of truth, holding from the beginning what has been delivered by Christ and the Apostle.'

That Cyprian fully agreed in these sentiments of his African colleague Firmilian, is sufficiently evident from what I have already cited, but I shall confirm it by a few extracts from one epistle more, which shall close his testimony on the point in question.

In a letter written by Cyprian to Pompey, one of the African bishops, on the conduct of Stephen, he expresses himself as follows, viz.

(100) 'Although we have embraced fully all that is to be

(99) 'Cæterum nos veritati et consuetudinem jungimus, et consuetudini Romanorum consuetudinem sed veritatis opponimus; ab initio hoc tenentes quod a Christo et ab Apostolo traditum est.' ib. p. 164.

(100) 'Quanquam plene ea quæ de hæreticis baptizandis dicenda sunt, complexi sumus in epistolis, quarum ad te exempla transmisimus, frater charissime, tamen quia desiderasti in notitiam tuam perferri, quæ mihi ad litteras nostras Stephanus trater noster rescripserit, nisi tibi rescripti ejus exemplum; quo lecto magis ac magis ejus errorem denotabis, qui hæreticorum causam contra Christianos, et contra Ecclesiam Dei asserere conatur. Nam inter cætera vel superba, vel ad rem non pertinentia, vel sibi ipsi contraria, quæ imperitè atque improvidè scripsit, etiam illud adjunxerit, ut diceret: [si quis ergo a quacunque hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam: &c.]——' Unde est ista traditio? Utrum ne de dominica et Evangelica auctoritate descendens, an de Apostolorum mandatis atque epistolis veniens? Ea enim faciendæ

said upon the baptism of heretics in the epistles of which we sent you copies, most dear brother, nevertheless, since you have desired to be informed what our brother Stephen returned in answer to our letter, I have sent to you a copy of his reply; which, when you have read, you will see more and more his error, in endeavouring to assert the cause of heretics against Christians, and against the Church of God. For amongst other proud and irrelevant things, and contradictions which he has unskilfully and thoughtlessly written, he has added the following; If therefore any one, from any of the heresies, shall come to us, let nothing of novelty be brought in, beyond the tradition that hands shall be laid on him in penitence,' &c. 'But whence is this tradition? Is it that which descends from the authority of our Lord and of his Gospel, or which comes to us from the precepts of the Apostles and their epistles? For those things which are written are to be done, as the Lord testifies and proposes to Joshua, saying, This book of the law shall not depart from thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all things which are written therein. In like manner, the Lord

esse quae scripta sunt, Deus testatur, et proponit ad Jesum Nave dicens: Non recedet liber legis hujus ex ore tuo, sed meditaberis in eo die ac nocte, ut observes facere omnia quae scripta sunt in eo. Item Dominus Apostolos suos mittens, mandat baptizari gentes et doceri, ut observent omnia quaecunque ille praecepit. Si ergo aut in Evangelio praecipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis, aut Actibus continetur, ut a quacunque haeresi venientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis imponatur in pœnitentiam, observetur divina haec et sancta traditio.'—'Ut nemo infamare Apostolos debeat, quasi illi haereticorum baptismata probaverint;—' quae ista obstinatio est, quaeve praesumptio, humanam traditionem divinae dispositioni antepone, ne animadvertere, indignari et irasci Deum, quoties divina praecepta solvit et praeterit humana traditio?' Cyp. epist. ad Pomp. contra Epist. Stephan. p. 152, 3.

sending his Apostles, commands them to teach and baptize the nations, that they may observe all things which were commanded them. If therefore it is either directed in the Gospel, or contained in the epistles of the Apostles, or in the Acts, that those who come from any heresy shall not be baptized, but only have hands laid on them in repentance, let this divine and holy tradition be observed.'——'But let no one defame the Apostles, as if they approved the baptisms of heretics.'—'How great is this obstinacy, how bold this presumption, to place this human tradition before the divine sanction, forgetting that God is always indignant and wrathful, whenever human traditions are exalted above his precepts.'

Here, then, brethren, we have a practical demonstration of Cyprian's views upon this important question, too plain to be fairly evaded, and rendering it impossible for an unprejudiced mind to believe that the doctrine of the Catholic Church in his days was at all accordant with your present doctrine on the subject of Papal supremacy. For, I beseech you, did Cyprian attribute to Peter any authority over Paul and the other Apostles, when he said that on Peter the first foundation of the Church was laid? Did he grant any power of government to the bishop of Rome when he called him the successor of Peter, and termed his diocese the principal seat? Did he believe that Cornelius and Stephen were the vicars of Christ, holding the place of God upon the earth, or that his opinions were to be controlled by theirs in any point of Christian theory or practice? Does he not, on the contrary, plainly and repeatedly say, that the episcopate of the whole Church is one, of which each bishop holds a part? Does he not declare that the Church is built on the Apostles and on the bishops, their successors; and place the unity of the Church, not on the agreement

of the bishops with the Roman See, but on their concord and agreement together? Does he not address the bishops of Rome precisely as he addresses the bishops of Africa, and expressly assert their mutual independence, each bishop being solely accountable to God? Does he not explain what he meant in styling the Church of Rome the principal See, by saying that '*on account of its superior magnitude, Rome ought to precede Carthage?*' Does he not refuse to change the custom of Carthage to the custom of Rome, and call that custom a human tradition opposed to truth? Does he not deny that any thing can be properly called an Apostolical tradition unless it be found in Scripture? And does he not condemn the bishop of Rome with the utmost freedom, when he thinks him in error, and even impeach him of pride, of ignorance, and of obstinacy?

Now, brethren, I only ask, what provincial bishop of your Church would dare to write and act thus at the present day? Yet Cyprian was not blamed for his independence. Like Victor in the days of Irenæus, Stephen was censured for his tyrannical assumption of power, but the African bishops kept on their way, and continued in the communion of the Catholic Church, although, through his own folly, they were not in communion with Stephen. And Cyprian closed his life by a glorious martyrdom, and stands high on your Calendar as one of the blessed, and is enrolled in your Canon Law: while Stephen, his antagonist, though the Council of Arles sanctioned his doctrine, attained no such distinction. And can you, with these facts before you, say that your system has not changed? Can you think that your present claims for the bishop of Rome, and the dominion of his See, as 'the mother and mistress of all the Churches,' have any real warrant from primitive antiquity?

CHAPTER XV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The names of Lactantius, who is commonly set down about A. D. 306, and of Eusebius the bishop of Cesarea, who is a few years later, are all that I shall place before you, previous to the Council of Nice. Of these, Lactantius stands first in order.

The testimony of this author is merely negative, and yet, in my mind, it possesses great weight. For what writer giving a description of your religion at this day, and speaking of Peter and of Rome, would omit all allusion to the primacy?

If he believed that Peter was the Prince of the Apostles, having dominion over the rest, could he speak of him without giving the honor that was due? If he believed that the Church of Rome was the authoritative 'mother and mistress' of all the Churches, and that the bishop of Rome was the vicar of Christ, holding the place of God upon earth, could he inculcate the doctrines of your faith extensively, and yet omit a point of such vast practical importance? Manifestly not. Therefore I must trouble you with a short extract from Lactantius, wherein he states the commencement of the Christian Church, and mentions Peter; but not in a manner at all suitable to the ideas which you hold at the present day.

After having discussed, at much length, the life, the character, and the death of Christ, and the conduct of the Jewish nation, Lactantius speaks of his resurrection, and of his conversing with his disciples forty days, and continues thus: (101) 'These commands concerning the Gospel and the preaching of his name, being given, a cloud suddenly surrounded him, and bore him to heaven, on the fortieth day after his passion, as Daniel had before predicted, saying: And behold in the clouds of heaven, the Son of man coming, went even to the Ancient of days. But his disciples being dispersed through the provinces placed the foundations of the Church every where, doing wonderful works in the name of their Lord God, and miracles almost incredible, because, in departing, he had endowed them with virtue and power by which they could establish and confirm this new revelation: and he also opened to them all future events, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome, and this preaching being written has remained as a memorial; in which, with many other wonderful things, they declared what should come to pass; that in a little time God should send a king who should make war upon the Jews, and should cast down cities to the ground.' &c.

(101) 'Ordinata vero discipulis suis evangelica, ac nominis sui prædicatione, circumfudit se repente nubes, eumque in cælum sustulit, quadragesimo post passionem die, sicut Daniel fore ostenderat, dicens: Et ecce in nubibus coeli ut filius hominis veniens, usque ad vetustum dierum pervenit. Discipuli vero per provincias dispersi, fundamenta Ecclesiæ ubique posuerunt; facientes et ipsi nomine magistri Dei magna, et pene incredibilia miracula; quia discedens instruxerat eos virtute, ac potestate, qua posset novæ annuntiationes ratio fundari et confirmari: sed et futura aperuit illis omnia; quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt; et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit; in qua cum multa alia mira, tum etiam hoc futurum esse, dixerunt, ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos, et civitates eorum solo adaequaret.' Lactant. de vera Sap. Lib. iv. § 21. p. 277--8.

Here, you perceive, Lactantius presents a brief sketch of the very place where the supremacy of Peter and of Rome should prominently appear, if, in his day, these features of your religion had been considered essential in the Catholic Church. But neither here, nor elsewhere, in his elaborate and eloquent treatise, does this writer intimate the slightest consciousness that these doctrines were an accredited part of the Christian system.

Eusebius, however, the bishop of Cesarea, is a much more important witness of the same kind. Several of his works have reached our time in excellent preservation, and his great work, especially, that which has obtained for him the title of father of Ecclesiastical history, furnishes the strongest circumstantial evidence against your doctrine of supremacy. Let us take a few extracts from his volumes, and see how the question stands.

From his commentary on the Psalms, I shall first present to you a passage which plainly gives Paul, instead of Peter, the leading place amongst the Apostles.

Commenting on the text, where it is said: 'There is little Benjamin their ruler,' translated in your version according to the Vulgate, but not the Hebrew, 'Benjamin a youth in ecstasy of mind,' (102) (being the 28th verse of the 68th Psalm, numbered in your version the 67th,) Eu-

(102) This being one of the places where our translation differs from yours, permit me to state for your satisfaction, that Jerome, and after him, Montanus, give the passage according to the Hebrew שם בנימן צעיר רוב, which Jerome translates *Ibi Benjamin parvulus continens eos*, and Montanus translates *Ibi Benjamin pusillus dominans eos*, both of which accord well with our version, but not at all with yours, which follows the Vulgate and the Septuagint. Eusebius cites the Septuagint, and also refers to the other versions, but his explanation of the passage would only be strengthened still more by the strict meaning of the Hebrew.

sebius applies it to Paul, in which he agrees with the fathers generally, as your own note on the passage in the Doway Bible, correctly states: (103) 'But for this word: There,' saith Eusebius, 'Symmachus says, Where is Benjamin the least or the younger: and Aquila likewise has it: There is Benjamin the less, ruling them. And this Benjamin,' continues Eusebius, 'was Paul the divine apostle, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, as he himself teaches in these words: Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews. But he is called the younger, or the least, because he himself declares, I am the least of all, born out of due time. For this expression, however: In exctasy of mind, Aquila translates: Governing them; Theodotion has it: Their schoolmaster, and in his fifth edition, *Teach-*

(103) ἀντι δὲ τῶν, ἐκῆι, ὁ Σύμμαχος ὕπου φησι Βενιαμιν ὁ μικρότατος, καὶ ὁ Ἀκύλας ὁμοίως· ἐκῆι φησι Βενιαμιν ὁ βραχυτάτος, Πᾶυλος ἦν ὁ θεῖος ἀποστολος, φυλῆς ὢν Βενιαμιν, Εβραῖος ἐξ Εβραίων, κἀθως αὐτὸς διδάσκει λέγων· περιτομὴ ὀκταήμερος ἐκ γένου Ἰσραὴλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμιν, Εβραῖος ἐξ Εβραίων· νεώτερος, δὲ ἔρηται ἢ μικρότατος, ἢ βραχυτάτος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο διδάσκει λέγων· ὕστερον δὲ πάντων ὥσπερ τῷ ἐκ τρώματι ὤφθη κἀμοί, ἀντι δὲ τῶν, ἐν ἐκσιάσει, ὁ μὲν Ἀκύλας ἐπικρατῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ Θεοδοτίων παιδευτῆς αὐτῶν· ἡ δὲ ἐ. ἔκδοσις, παιδεύοντα ἢ διδάσκοντα ἠρμήνευσαν. ὅν δεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν πλείωνων λόγων εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῶν κρατεῖν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ παιδευτὴν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸν ἱερὸν ἀπόστολον Βενιαμιν ὠνομασμένον. ὅν μονος δὲ ἄρα ὁ Βενιαμιν ἦν ἐκεῖ δηλαδὴ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες Ἰουδα ἡγέμονες αὐτῶν· οἱ τε ἄρχοντες Ζαβουλῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες Νεφθαλεμ. σημαίνει δὲ ὁ λόγος διὰ τούτων τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις, ὢν οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰουδα οἱ δὲ ἐκ φυλῆς Ζαβουλῶν καὶ Νεφθαλεμ, διὰ τῆς τούτων μέμνηται χώρας τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγον· γῆ Ζαβουλῶν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλεμ ὁδὸν

ing them. Nor,' continues Eusebius, 'does it need many words to prove that the holy apostle, here called Benjamin, was the ruler and the preceptor of the Churches. Nor was he Benjamin alone there, that is, in the Churches of God, but also the princes of Judah their leaders, the princes of Zebulon, and the princes of Naphtali. By these are pointed out the rest of the Apostles, of whom some were of the tribe of Juda, some of the tribe of Zebulon, and others of the tribe of Naphtali. Wherefore the Holy Spirit by Isaiah the prophet records the country of these, saying: The land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali, the way of the sea across Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles. The Saviour accordingly, passing over by the sea of Galilee, called his disciples from thence. He teaches plainly, therefore, that Paul ruled first over the Churches, the lowest and least, and younger than the other apostles, placed sometimes in ecstasy of mind, when he persecuted the Church of God and wasted it, or when he saw the Saviour in a vision, or when he was taken up to Paradise even to the third heaven. But, after Paul, he prophesies that the other apostles would be fitly placed there, namely, in the Church, our princes of the tribe of Judah, and princes of Zebulon, and princes of Naphtali.'

θαλάσσης, πέραν τῶν Ἰορδανου Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ παραγαγὼν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας, τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἔνθενδε ἀνεκαλεῖτο, σαφῶς ὄντι ἐπικρατεῖν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, πρῶτον μὲν Παῦλον τὸν βραχυτάτον καὶ μικρότατον καὶ νεώτατον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδίδαξεν ἐν ἐκσίᾳσει ποτὲ γενόμενον, ὅτι ἐδίδωκε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπόρθει αὐτήν, ἢ ὅτι ἐν ἀποκαλύψει τὸν σωτῆρα τεθέατο· ἢ ὅτι ἠρπάγη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Παῦλον, τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ πρέπειν θεσπίζει, ἄρχοντας ὄντας ἡμετέροις ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα καὶ ἄρχοντας Ζαβουλῶν καὶ ἄρχοντας Νεφθαλεμῖ. Euseb. Com. in Psalm. lxxvii. § 28. p. 359.

Now here is an express testimony to prove that the apostle Paul was the distinct subject of prophecy, the only one of the apostles so honored, for the other twelve are spoken of in the plural, as the princes of Judah, and Zebulon, and Naphtali. Eusebius too, adopts all the versions in his commentary, and says that they were all fulfilled in Paul. He was the ruler in the Churches, according to Aquila, the teacher according to Theodotion, and he might be truly said to have been in ecstasy of mind according to the Septuagint and the Vulgate. But his conclusion is that 'Paul ruled first over the Churches,' and 'after Paul, the other apostles.' I beseech you to say, brethren, whether Eusebius knew any thing of the principality of Peter when he wrote this passage. And if it were possible that you could find one like it in the writings of that early age, where Peter was the subject of an equal distinction; tell me whether you would not quote it triumphantly as conclusive on your side?

There is a casual expression of the same author, in his book on the Evangelical Preparation, where, being about to cite a text from St. Paul, he calls him: (104) 'The holy apostle, and truly the first of all.'

In his work entitled Evangelic Demonstration, he has a long disquisition shewing the humility and modesty of the several apostles, preferring each other before themselves, and yet faithfully recording all that is to their own disadvantage. Thus he states that Matthew is the only one of the Evangelists who mentions the fact that he was a publican:

(104) *Πρῶτος γέ τοι πάντων ὁ λεγὸς ἀπόστολος Παῦλος.* Euseb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 7. A.

Your own translator, Francis. Vigerus Rothomagensis, Societat. Jesu Presbyter, renders the above line thus: *Quanquam omnium sanæ Princeps Paulus ille sacer Apostolus.*

that Peter, out of an excessive humility, did not think himself worthy to write a Gospel, and that the Gospel of St. Mark, written by Peter's companion and disciple, (and under his direction, as all the ancients held) omits all of that famous address of Christ to him: Thou art Peter, and on this rock, &c. 'For Mark,' says Eusebius, (105) 'was not present at those things which were said by Christ, and Peter did not think it right to tell those things which Jesus said to him concerning himself, by his own testimony.' (106) 'But those things which concerned his denial of his Lord, he declared and published before all men: and there declares that he wept for it bitterly.' 107) 'We see, therefore,' continues our author, 'that the apostles refuse what might bring upon them a good reputation, while they commit to an eternal record, what might be charged against them.'

Now in this passage, it is easy to see how Eusebius regarded the point of Peter's supremacy. If the Saviour had been supposed by him to have granted this supremacy as a matter of official pre-eminence, design'd to be perpetuated to his successors in a particular Church to the end of the world, would Eusebius have praised St. Peter's modesty and humility in suppressing it? Was it not a sacred duty in St. Paul to *magnify his office*, while he abased himself? Do not all your bishops of Rome, the successors of

(105) *ὅτι γὰρ πικρῆν ὁ Μάρκος τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λεχθεῖσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Πέτρος τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λεχθέντα τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐδικαίου δι' οὐκείας προφέρειν μαρτυρίας.* Euseb. Demon. Evangel. lib. 3 Cap. 7. p. 121.

(106) *τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄρρησιν αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντας ἐκήρυξεν ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔκλαυσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πικρῶς.* ib.

(107) *οἱ δὲ ὄντα τὰ μὲν δόξαντα αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὴν φέρειν φήμην παραϊτούμενοι, τὰς δὲ καθ' ἑαυτῶν διαβολὰς εἰς ἄλλοισιν αἰῶνα καταγράφοντες.* ib. p. 122.

St. Peter, in this very prerogative which you suppose granted by our Lord to Peter, continually claim their official rights as a matter of solemn obligation? And would a bishop of Rome be thought worthy of praise for his modesty or humility, in suppressing this distinction, and writing on the concerns of the Church as if he had it not? The answer to all this is plain and simple, and the conclusion is equally so. Eusebius, designing to shew the modesty and candor of the apostles in a strong point of view, declares that these things which were to their praise they mentioned not, but recorded all that could be brought in accusation against them. For an example, he instances Peter, leaving out of Mark's Gospel (which was dictated by him) the whole of Christ's address to him on which you found the doctrine of the primacy: Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, &c., while he records his own iniquity in denying his Saviour. The primacy for which you contend, is here opposed to the denial of the Saviour. If the one was personal to Peter only, so, in the opinion of Eusebius, must the other have been. But if the primacy was not simply personal, but official; and as much a part of the will of Christ as the call of Peter to be an apostle, and as necessary to be known and understood by the Christian Church for the sake of its unity, would Peter have presumed to suppress it in his communications to Mark? Would he have dared to omit it in his preaching? And would Eusebius have applauded an error which must have jeopardized, so far as Peter was concerned, the peace, if not the very existence of the Catholic Church, according to your definition of it?

But the most decisive evidence on this question is furnished by the same author in his celebrated work, the Ec-

clesiastical History, in which he undertakes to give a narrative of the first three hundred and twenty years of the Church, from the time of Christ to the conversion of the Emperor Constantine. In such a book, if any where, the doctrine of St. Peter's supremacy and the vicarious dominion of the Roman See over the rest of Christendom must have appeared continually, had Eusebius known of its existence. But it is not to be found; nay, nor any allusion to it, nor any appearance of it, during the annals of these primitive ages. On the contrary, there are many things recorded by this father of ecclesiastical history, which are plainly irreconcilable with your hypothesis, so that the testimony of this most important witness of the primitive Church, both negatively and circumstantially, is absolutely fatal to your claim.

Of this testimony—in order to exhibit it fairly—I shall ask your attention, first, to his manner of speaking of Peter: secondly, to his manner of speaking of the bishops of Rome: thirdly, to his account of some ancient councils, which were held without adverting in any way to the authority of the bishops of Rome, and of the disputes concerning Easter, and baptism; and fourthly, to some letters of the Emperor, distinctly shewing that there was no ecclesiastical difference between the authority of the bishop of Rome and that of the other bishops. I would gladly abbreviate, brethren, both for your sake and for mine, but the truth is worth all our labour, and we must not expect to find it without toil.

First, then, let us attend to the manner in which Eusebius speaks of Peter. (108) 'The names of our Saviour's

(108) Presuming that it might be generally more acceptable to you, I subjoin, instead of the original Greek of Eusebius, the Latin version of your own learned and celebrated Valesius. See *Historiæ*

Apostles', saith he, (Book 1. C. 12.) 'are sufficiently obvious to every one from the Gospels, but of the seventy disciples, there is no catalogue any where.'——'Clement, in the fifth of his Institutions,' continues he, 'mentions that the Cephas, of whom Paul says that he came to Antioch, and that he withstood him to his face, was one of the seventy who had the same name with Peter the apostle.' This is the only reference to Peter in the chapter.

Again, (Book 2. Chap. 1.) Eusebius, quoting from Clement of Alexandria, says, (109) 'Peter and James and John, after the ascension of our Saviour, though they had been preferred by our Lord, did not contend for the honor, but chose James the Just for bishop of Jerusalem.' And again, 'The Lord imparted the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John and Peter after his resurrection.' But at the close of the chapter (p. 50) mark how he speaks of Paul: (110) 'In the mean while, Paul, that chosen vessel, not of men nor through men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ himself and God the Father who raised him from the dead,

Œclesiasticæ Scriptores Græci, Ed. Amstel. Tom. 1. Euseb. Pamph. Ecc. Hist. lib. I. Cap. 12. Et Apostolorum quidem Servatoris nostri nomina ex Evangeliorum libris notissima sunt omnibus. Quod verò ad septuaginta discipulos attinet, eorum series nullibi præscripta reperitur.——Sic enim refert Clemens in libro quinto hypotyposeon, in quo etiam Cepham illum, cui Antiochiam ingresso Paulus se palam restitisse dicit, quoniam reprehensione dignus erat, unum ait fuisse ex septuaginta discipulis Petro Apostolo cognominem.'

(109) *Ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. 'Ait enim,' (sc. Clem. Alex.) 'post Servatoris ascensum, Petrum, Jacobum et Joannem, quamvis Dominus ipsos cæteris prætulisset, non idcirco de primo honoris gradu inter se contendisse, sed Jacobum cognomine Justum Hierosolymorum episcopum elegisse.'——'Jacobus, inquit, Justo et Johanni et Petro Dominus post resurrectionem scientiæ donum impertiit.*

(110) *Ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. 'Interea' Paulus vas illud electionis, non ex hominibus nec per homines, sed per revelationem Jesu Christi, et*

is appointed an Apostle, being called to that honor by a celestial vision and the voice of revelation from heaven.' Here there is nothing to distinguish Peter, but much to indicate the opinion before observed of Eusebius, that Paul was the chief of the Apostles.

Again, in the 14th Chap. of the same Book (p. 64) Peter is spoken of with strong praise, where, recording the defeat of the magician Simon by this Apostle, he says, (111) that 'Peter, the powerful and great Apostle, who on account of his ability was the advocate of all the rest, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind.' Here, it is manifest that Peter's supremacy would have been stated in your own way, or at least alluded to, if Eusebius had acknowledged such a doctrine. He would not have spoken of Peter as one, who, by his ability, was the advocate of the rest, but as one, who by his Lord's appointment *received authority* over the rest. The primacy which an advocate possesses by his skill in pleading a cause for his clients, is a very different matter from the authoritative primacy which

Dei Patris qui illum suscitavit a mortuis, Apostolus constituitur, cælesti visione ac voce quæ tempore illius revelationis ad ipsum delata est, ad hunc honorem vocatus.'

(111) Ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 14. I regret to find an instance of unfaithfulness in Valesius' translation of this passage, altogether unworthy of him. The Greek is in these words: *πρόνοια τὸν καττερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαρτῶν προήγορον πετρον ἐπὶ τὴν ῥώμην ὡς ἐπὶ τηλικούτον λυμεῶνα βίου χειραγωγεῖ.* And Valesius renders it: 'Dei providentia fortissimum et maximam inter Apostolos Petrum et virtutis merito reliquorum omnium principem ac patronum Romam adversus illum generis humani labem et pestem perducit.' Now here his zeal for Peter's supremacy has led him into an extraordinary amplification. Instead of the positive degree, powerful and great, according to the Greek, he has given us the superlative: *most powerful and greatest*, and instead of Peter's being the advocate or prolocutor of the Apostles, which is the proper meaning of the Greek *προήγορος*, he has called him *their prince and patron*.

the judge exercises over the clients themselves. The first is the thing intimated by Eusebius : the second is that which your doctrine demands for Peter and his successors.

In the very next chapter, the historian relates the establishment of the Roman Church, and the writing of St. Mark's Gospel, in the following words. (112) 'So greatly,' saith he, 'did the splendor of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the Gospel of God, but they persevered in every variety of entreaties, to solicit Mark, as the companion of Peter, that he would leave them a monument of the doctrine thus orally communicated, in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man ; and thus became the means of that history which is called the Gospel according to Mark.' But there is not a word said about the Church of Rome in her relation to the other Churches, nor a syllable on the subject of Peter's authority.

In the third Book, Chap. 1. the subject of Peter at Rome occurs again. (113) 'The holy Apostles and disciples of our Saviour,' saith the historian, 'being scattered over the

(112) *Ibid.* Lib. 2. Cap. 15. *Tantus autem veritatis fulgor emicuit in mentibus eorum qui Petrum audierant, ut parum haberent semel audisse nec contenti essent cœlestis verbi doctrinam viva voce, nullis traditam scriptis accepisse : sed Marcum Petri sectatorem cujus hodiequæ extat Evangelium, enixè orarent ut doctrinæ illius quam auditu acceperant, scriptum aliquod monumentum apud se relinqueret. Nec prius destiterunt quàm hominem expugnassent, auctoresque scribendi illius quod secundum Marcum dicitur, Evangelii extitissent.'*

(113) *Ib.* Lib. 3. Cap. 1. *Apostoli et discipuli Domini ac Servatoris nostri per universum orbem dispersi Evangelium prædicabant. Et Thomas quidem, ut a majoribus traditum accepimus, Parthiam sortitus est : Andreas verò Scythiam, Joanni Asia obvenit, qui plurimum temporis in ea commoratus, Ephesi tandem diem obiit. At Petrus per Pontum, Galatiam, Bithyniam, Cappadociam atque Asiam Judæis qui in dispersione erant, prædicasse existimatur. Qui ad extremum Ro-*

whole world, Thomas, according to tradition, received Parthia as his allotted region; Andrew received Scythia, and John, Asia; where, after continuing for some time, he died at Ephesus. But Peter is supposed to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, to the Jews that were scattered abroad; who also, finally coming to Rome, was crucified with his head downward, having requested of himself to suffer in this way. But of Paul what can sufficiently speak, spreading the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffering martyrdom at Rome, under Nero? Here again, the historian says no more; nor indicates, directly or indirectly, your fundamental doctrine, that Peter received authority over the other Apostles, that he was the first bishop of Rome, and that his supremacy devolved on his successors.

So far, indeed, is Eusebius from countenancing this statement, that he expressly records, in his next Chapter, the commencement of the Roman Episcopate. (114) 'After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter,' saith he, 'Linus was the first that received the Episcopate at Rome. Paul makes mention of him in his epistle from Rome to Timothy, saying, Eubulus and Pudens, and Linus and Claudia, salute thee.'

mam veniens, cruci suffixus est capite deorsum demisso: sic enim ut in cruce collocaretur oraverat. De Paulo jam quid attinet dicere, qui a Hierosolymis usque ad Illyricum munus Evangelicæ prædicationis implevit, ac postremò Romæ sub Nerone martyrio perfunctus est.'

(114) *Ib.*, Lib. 3. Cap. 2. 'Cæterum post Pauli Petrique martyrium primus Ecclesiæ Romanæ episcopatum suscepit Linus. Hujus mentionem facit, Paulus in epistola quam ab urbe Roma ad Timotheum scripsit, inter salutationes quæ ad calcem epistolæ leguntur: Salutate, inquit, Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, et Claudia.' Valesius adopts this as a general maxim, where in his annotations upon the 14th Ch. of the same book, he says expressly, that the 'Apostles were not reckoned in the number of the bishops.' *Apostoli vero extra ordinem erant nec in Episcoporum numero censebantur.'*

Here Eusebius accords with Irenaeus as to the important question, who was the first bishop of Rome, and puts a negative upon your doctrine.

His mode of speaking of the Church of Rome, seems to my mind altogether irreconcilable with your hypothesis. Thus in the 4th Book, 16th. Chap. he calls Rome simply (115) ‘the great city.’ And in the 6th Book, 14th Ch. speaking of Origen, he says that (116) ‘he came to Rome, being desirous of seeing the very ancient Church of Rome.’ Would he say no more than this, if he had been taught to believe that Rome was the mother and mistress of all the Churches? Such, however, is the constant style of the historian, for he gives no intimation, throughout his works, of any superior headship or authority existing in favor of the supposed See of Peter.

I come, in the second place, to shew the mode in which Eusebius records the successions of the various bishops, in which you will see the total absence of all distinction.

In Book 4. Ch. 4. he gives us an account of what the title to the chapter calls, ‘the bishops of Alexandria and Rome, under the same Emperor.’ (117) ‘But in the third year of the same reign,’ says he, ‘Alexander, bishop of Rome, died, having completed the tenth year of his ministration. Xystus was his successor, and about the same

(115) Ib. Lib. 4. Cap. 16. τη μεγάλη πολει.

(116) Ib. Lib. 6. Cap. 14. ἐνξήμενος την ἀρχαιοτάτην ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν. Here again Valesius amplifies, rendering the words ‘*Romanam ecclesiam omnium antiquissimam*,’ whereas Eusebius does not say the ‘Roman Church, the most ancient of all,’ but, ‘the very ancient Church of the Romans.’

(117) Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. ‘Qui sub eodem Imperatore Episcopi Romæ fuerint et Alexandriæ.

Anno autem principatus Adriani tertio Alexander Romanæ urbis episcopus fato functus est, cum decem annos administrationis expleisset. Cui successit Xystus. Eodem circiter tempore mortuo Primo

time, Primus dying, in the twelfth year of his Episcopate, was succeeded by Justus.'

Again in Ch. 10. (118) we read as follows: 'In the first year of Adrian's reign, Telesphorus departed this life, and was succeeded in the charge of the Roman Church by Hyginus.'

And again, in Ch. 19. (119) 'It was in the eighth year of the reign of Verus, that Anicetus, who had held the episcopate of Rome for eleven years, was succeeded by Soter; but at Alexandria, Celadion, who had presided over the Church fourteen years, was succeeded by Agrippinus.'

Immediately after this, Eusebius notices that (120) 'Theophilus governed the episcopate of the Church of Antioch, the sixth in succession from the Apostles: For Cornelius the successor of Hero, had sat in the same Church in the fourth place from the Apostles.' In both these cases, the historian uses language quite as capable of bearing your interpretation as any that he uses in the case of Rome.

anno episcopatus sui duodecimo, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ sacerdotium suscepit Justus.

(118) Ibid, Lib. 4. Cap. 10. τούτου δὲ ἐν ἔτει πρώτῳ τελεσφόρου τὸν βίον ἐνδεκάτῳ τῆς λειτουργίας ἐνιαυτῷ μεταλλάξατος, ὕγιος τὸν κληρὸν τῆς ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς παραλαμβάνει. Here, again, is a little specimen of Valesius' propensity, for whereas Eusebius says that Hyginus took the lot of the episcopate of the Romans, Valesius makes it look as well as he can by calling it a *pontificate*: *Pontificatum Romanæ urbis sortitus est Hyginus.*

(119) Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 19. Porro supradicto Imperatore jam octavum principatus annum agente, cum Anicetus ecclesiæ Romanæ episcopatum undecim annis obtinuisset, Soter in ejus locum successit. Apud Alexandriam quoque cum Celadion per annos quatuordecim ecclesiæ præfuisset, Agrippinus sedem ejus obtinuit.

(120) Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Antiochenæ verò ecclesiæ episcopatum sextus ab Apostolis Theophilus gubernabat. Quippe Cornelius Hero- nis successor, quartus ab Apostolis eidem ecclesiæ præcederat.

In the opening sentence of book 5th, he states that (121) 'Soter, bishop of Rome died, having held the episcopate eight years.' And in Chapter the 22d, he mentions, that (122) 'In the tenth reign of Commodus, Eleutherius who had held the episcopate for thirteen years, was succeeded by Victor.'

Now these may serve as a specimen of the mode in which the father of Ecclesiastical history speaks of the bishops of Rome and the Church of Rome. Nothing is here said of the Apostolic See—the chair of Peter—the Chief See—the mother and mistress of all the Churches—the Vicar of Christ, or any other allusion or epithet which accords with the claims of your Canon law. Indeed, the only episcopal seat to which Eusebius attaches any peculiarity, is that of Jerusalem. (123) For 'James,' saith he, Book 7. Chap. 19. 'being the first that received the dignity of the Episcopate at Jerusalem, from our Saviour himself and the Apostles, as the sacred Scriptures show that he was generally called the brother of Christ; this See, which has been preserved until the present times, has ever been held in great veneration by the brethren that have followed in the succession there.'

But in the third place, I am to notice what Eusebius says about the controversies concerning Easter, and the baptism

(121) Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 1. 'Igitur Sotere Romanæ urbis episcopo post octavum episcopatus annum vita functo, duodecimus ab Apostolis Eleutherius in ejus locum successit.'

(122) Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 22. Interea Commodo decimum annum imperii agente, cum Eleutherius tredecim annis episcopatum administrasset, Victor in ejus locum successit.

(123) Ibid. Lib. 7. Cap. 19. 'Sane et Jacobi illius cathedram, qui primus Hierosolymorum episcopus ab ipso Servatore et ab Apostolis est constitutus, et quem fratrem Domini cognominatum fuisse divina testantur volumina, ad nostra usque tempora conservatam fratres illius ecclesiae jam inde a majoribus magna prosequuntur reverentia.'

of heretics, where the facts are utterly at war with your theory. The first of these subjects occurs in the 23d Chapt. of the 5th Book, and is related in the following words.

(124) 'There was a considerable discussion raised about this time,' saith he, 'in consequence of a difference of opinion respecting the observance of the paschal season. The Churches of all Asia, guided by a remote tradition, supposed that they ought to keep the fourteenth day of the moon for the festival of the Saviour's passover, in which day, the Jews were commanded to kill the paschal lamb; and thought it incumbent on them, at all times, to make an end of the fast on this day, on whatever day of the week it should happen to fall. But it was not the custom to celebrate it in this manner in the Churches throughout the rest of the world, who observe the practice that has prevailed from Apostolic tradition until the present time, so that it

(124) *Ibid.* L. b. 5. Cap. 23. *Iisdem temporibus gravi controversia exorta, eo quod omnes per Asiam ecclesiae vetusta quadam traditione nixae, quartadecima luna salutaris Paschae festum diem celebrandum esse ceusebant, quo die praescriptum erat Judaeis ut agnum immolarent: caque omnino luna in quemcunque demum diem septimanae incidisset, finem jejuniis imponendum esse statuebant: cum tamen reliquae totius orbis ecclesiae alio more uterentur, qui ex Apostolorum traditione profectus etiamnum servatur, ut scilicet non alio quam resurrectionis Dominicæ die jejunia solvi liceat: Synodi ob id, coetusque episcoporum convenere. Atque omnes uno consensu ecclesiasticam regulam universis fidelibus per epistolas tradiderunt: ne videlicet ullo alio quam Dominico die mysterium resurrectionis Domini unquam celebretur: utque eo duntaxat die Paschaliunum jejuniorum terminum observemus. Exstat etiamnum epistola Sacerdotum, qui tunc in Palestina congregati sunt: quibus praesidebant Theophilus Caesareae Palaeestinae, et Narcissus Hierosolymorum episcopus. Alia item exstat epistola Synodi Romanae, cui Victoris episcopi nomen praefixum est. Habentur praeterea literae episcoporum Ponti, quibus Palma utpote antiquissimus praefuit. Epistola quoque ecclesiarum Galliae exstat, quibus*

would not be proper to terminate our fast on any other than the day of the resurrection of our Saviour. Hence there were *synods and convocations of the bishops* on this question; and all unanimously drew up an ecclesiastical decree, which they communicated to all the Churches in all places, that the mystery of our Lord's resurrection should be celebrated on no other day than the Lord's day; and that on this day alone we should observe the close of the paschal fasts. The epistle of the bishops who then assembled in Palestine, is still extant, among whom presided Theophilus, bishop of the Church in Cesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. Another epistle of the Roman Synod is also extant, to which the name of Victor the bishop is prefixed. There is an epistle also of the bishops in Pontus, among whom Palmas, as the most ancient, presided; also, of the Churches of Gaul, over whom Irenæus presided. Moreover, one from those in Osrhoene, and the cities there. And a particular epistle from Bacchylus, bishop of the Corinthians; and epistles of many others, who, advancing one and the same doctrine, also passed the same vote. And this, their unanimous determination, was the one already mentioned.'

(125) 'The bishops however, of Asia, who sharply contended that the custom handed down to them from their fathers, should be retained,' continues Eusebius, in the follow-

praerat Irenaeus. Ecclesiarum quoque in Osdroenae provincia et in urbibus regionis illius constitutarum literae visuntur. Seorsum vero Bacchylli Corinthorum Episcopi, aliorumque complurium epistolae exstant. Qui omnes eandem fidem eandemque doctrinam proferentes, unam edidere sententiam. Et haec quidem fuit, ut dixi, illorum definitio.'

(125) Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 24. Episcopis verò Asiae, qui morem sibi a majoribus traditum retinendum esse acriter contendebant, Polycrates praecerat. Qui quidem in ea epistola quam ad Victorem et ad Romae urbis ecclesiam scripsit, traditionem ad sua usque tempora propagatam exponit his verbis. Nos igitur verum ac genuinum agimus diem.'—

ing chapter, 'were headed by Polycrates. He indeed, had also set forth their tradition, in a letter which he addressed to Victor and the Church of Rome. We, said he, observe the genuine day.'——'I could also mention the bishops that were present, whom you requested that I might call together, which I did accordingly. Whose names, did I write them, would present a great number.'——'Upon this, Victor, the bishop of the Church of Rome, forthwith endeavours to cut off all the Churches of Asia, together with the neighbouring Churches, as heterodox, from the common unity. And he publishes abroad by letters, and proclaims, that all the brethren are wholly excommunicated. But these doings did not please all the bishops. They immediately exhorted him, on the contrary, to contemplate that course which was calculated to promote peace, unity, and love to one another.'

'There are also extant,' saith our historian, 'the expressions they used, who pressed upon Victor with great se-

'*Possem etiam episcoporum qui mecum sunt, facere mentionem, quos petiistis ut convocarem, sicut et feci. Quorum nomina si adscripsero, ingens numerus videbitur.*'——'His ita gestis, Victor quidem Romanæ urbis episcopus illico omnes Asiae vicinarumque provinciarum ecclesias tanquam contraria rectæ fidei sentientes, a communione abscindere conatur; datisque literis universos qui illic erant fratres proscribit, et ab unitate ecclesiæ prorsus alienos esse pronuntiat. Verùm hæc non omnibus placebant episcopis. Proinde Victorem ex adverso hortati sunt, ut ea potius sentire vellet quæ paci et unitati caritatiq̄ue erga proximum congruebant.'

'*Exstant etiamnum eorum literæ, quibus Victorem acerbius perstringunt. Ex quorum numero Irenæus in epistola quam scripsit nomine fratrum quibus praeerat in Gallia, illud quidem defendit, solo die Dominico resurrectionis Domini mysterium esse celebrandum: Victorem tamen decenter admonet, ne integras Dei ecclesias morem sibi a majoribus traditum custodientes, a communione abscindat.*' &c.——'Nec verò ad Victorem solùm, sed ad multos alios ecclesiarum antistites de quaestione proposita literas in eandem sententiam misit.'

verity. Among these also was Irenæus. He also admonishes Victor not to cut off whole Churches of God, who observed the tradition of an ancient custom.' Here follows the extract which I have already quoted as a part of the testimony of Irenæus, and Eusebius concludes this chapter by saying that : ' Not only to Victor, but likewise to many of the other rulers of the Churches, Irenæus sent letters on this agitated question, expressing the same opinion.'

Now in this long extract, there are several points of importance, all hostile to your claims. First, there are various councils held upon the question, over some of which Theophilus, bishop of Cesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, are mentioned as presiding ; but there is not one word of the bishop of Rome, as directing them, summoning them, or taking any part beyond that of his Episcopal brethren.

But presently, Victor, the bishop of Rome, takes it upon him to request Polycrates, bishop of Samos, to summon a council and concur with the decision of the Western Churches ; threatening him, too, as it seems by Polycrates' answer, with the consequences of refusal. Did Polycrates and his brethren regard this threat, or acknowledge any authority in Victor ? Nay : although Victor had the unanimous decree of the Western Churches in support of his opinion. And when Victor, in pursuance of his threat, endeavored to have the bishops of Asia cast out of the communion of the Western Churches, did he prevail ? So far from it that Eusebius condemns him, and says that the bishops who agreed with the decree condemned him, and ' pressed upon him with great severity.' Where then, in all this, is the supremacy of Rome ? Where stands the supposed dominion of Peter, and the authority of the mother and mistress of all the Churches ? Surely, brethren,

no candid mind can read the narrative without seeing, that the primitive state of this matter could have been nothing like your system at the present day.

Again, in the account of the dispute about heretical baptisms, which was under review when the testimony of Cyprian was before us, Eusebius corresponds fully, stating the matter in such terms as are in accordance with the official equality of the bishops, but totally irreconcilable with your doctrine of supremacy. (126) 'After Cornelius', saith he, (Book 7. Chap. 2.) 'had held the Episcopal office at Rome about three years, he was succeeded by Lucius, but the latter did not hold the office quite eight months, when dying he transferred it to Stephen. To this Stephen, Dionysius wrote the first of his epistles on baptism, as there was no little controversy, whether those turning from any heresy whatever should be purified by baptism: for the ancient practice prevailed with regard to such, that they should only have imposition of hands with prayer.'

(127) 'Cyprian,' continues the historian in the next chapter, 'who was bishop of the Church of Carthage, was of opinion, that they should be admitted on no conditions,

(126) *Ibid.* Lib. 7. Cap. 2. *Interè Romæ cum Cornelius tribus circiter annis episcopatum tenuisset, Lucius in ejus locum substituitur. Qui vix octo mensium spatio perfunctus eo munere, moriens episcopale officium Stephano dereliquit. Ad hunc Stephanum Dionysius primam earum quæ de Baptismo conscriptæ sunt epistolam exaravit, cum per id tempus non mediocris controversia exorta esset, utrùm eos qui ex qualibet hæresi convertuntur, baptismo purgari oporteret. Quippe antiqua consuetudo invaluerat, ut in ejusmodi hominibus sola manuum impositio cum precationibus adhiberetur.'*

(127) *Ibid.* Lib. 7. Cap. 3. 'Primus omnium Cyprianus qui tunc temporis Carthaginensem regebat ecclesiam, non nisi per baptismum ab errore priùs emundatos, admittendos esse censuit. Verum Stephanus nihil adversus traditionem quæ jam inde ab ultimis temporibus obtinuerat innovandum ratus, gravissime id tulit.'

before they were first cleansed from their error by baptism. But Stephen, who thought that no innovations should be made contrary to traditions that had prevailed from ancient times, was much offended at this.' Now here, again, there is not a hint of your doctrine, although it is obvious that questions of authority and rights of official government are always brought prominently forward, when there is any thing like strife or contention.

The twenty seventh Chapter of the same book, presents to us another occasion of episcopal jurisdiction, when the heresy of Paul, the bishop of Antioch, rendered a Council of bishops necessary to preserve the Church. (128) 'The other heads of the Churches,' says Eusebius, 'assembled in haste from different parts, at Antioch, as against one who was committing depredations on the flock of Christ.'— 'Among these,' (129) Ch. 18. 'the most learned were Firmilianus, bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, Gregory and Athenodorus, brothers and pastors of the Churches in Pontus; also Helenus, bishop of the Church at Tarsus, and Nicomas of Iconium, besides Hymeneus of the Church at Jerusalem, and Theotencus of the adjacent Church at Cesarea. Moreover Maximus, who governed the Church of Bostra with great celebrity. There were six hundred others, who

(128) Ibid. Lib. 7. Cap. 27. 'At reliqui ecclesiarum pastores undique exciti, tanquam adversus gregis Domini vastatorem, simul omnes Antiochiam convenerunt.

(129) Ibid. Cap. 23. Inter quos maximè eminebant Firmilianus Caesaræe Cappadocum episcopus; Gregorius et Athenodorus fratres, ecclesiarum apud Pontum episcopi: Helenus quoque Tarsi, et Nicomas Iconii antistites. Sed et Hymenæus qui ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam regebat, et Theotecnus qui Caesariensem illi finitimam administrabat. Maximus præterea, qui Bostrensem ecclesiam summa cum laude gubernavit. Sexcentos quoque alios qui una cum presbyteris et diaconis eò confluerunt, nequaquam difficile fuerit recensere. Verùm hi quos dixi, illustres præ cæteris habebantur.'

together with the presbyters and deacons, assembled in the said city for the same cause: it would be difficult to number them all, but the persons named were the most distinguished.' (130) 'But it was in the reign of this emperor, (Aurelian) Ch. 29. 'when a final council was convened, in which bishops almost innumerable were assembled, and Paul, the author of this nefarious heresy, was convicted at Antioch, and being plainly found guilty of false doctrine by all, was cast out from the whole Catholic Church under heaven.'— (131) 'The pastors therefore,' continues Eusebius, Ch. 30. 'who had been convened, having drawn up an epistle, *by common consent* addressed it to Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and to Maximus of Alexandria, and sent it to all the Provinces'—'The epistle: *To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellow ministers throughout the world, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven: Helenus, Hymenæus, and Theophilus, and Theotecnus, and Maximus, Proculus, Nicomas and*

(130) Ibid. Lib. 7. Cap. 29. 'Hujus temporibus (sc. Aureliani) postrema Synodus innumerabilium ferè episcoporum congregata est; in qua auctor ille nefariæ apud Antiochiam hæreseos Paulus, convictus et ab omnibus manifestissimè deprehensus falsi dogmatis reus, ab universa quæ sub coelo est ecclesia Catholica eliminatus est.'

(131) Ibid. Lib. 7. Cap. 30. 'Omnes itaque in unum congregati assistites, unam ex communi sententia ad Dionysium Romanæ urbis episcopum, et ad Maximum Alexandrinum scripserunt epistolam: eamque ad omnes deinde provincias transmiserunt:—Porro ipsamet illorum verba, ad perpetuam posterorum memoriam non incommodum fuerit hic referre.'

'Dionysio et Maximo, et omnibus per universum orbem comministris nostris; episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconis; et universæ ecclesiæ catholicæ quæ sub cælo est, Helenus et Hymenæus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proculus, Nicomas, Ælianus, Paulus, Bolanus, Protogenes, Hierax, Eutyebius, Theodorus et Malchion et Lucius, et reliqui omnes qui nobiscum sunt vicinarum urbium et provinciarum episcopi, presbyteri ac diaconi, et ecclesiæ Dei, carissimis fratribus in Domino salutem.'

Ælianus, Paul and Bolanus and Protogenes, Hieras, and Euty chius and Theodorus, and Malchion and Lucius, and all the rest who are bishops, presbyters, or deacons, dwelling with us, in the neighbouring cities and nations, together with the Churches of God, to the beloved brethren in the Lord, Greeting.' The epistle proceeds to set forth the heresy of Paul, and the various accusations against him, and concludes in these words, (132) 'We have been compelled, therefore, to excommunicate this man, who sets himself up in opposition to God, and is unwilling to yield, and to appoint another bishop in his place over the Catholic Church, and this we trust, with the Providence of God, viz. Domnus the son of Demetrianus, of blessed memory, and who, before this, presided with much honor over the same Church, a man we believe fully endowed with all the excellent qualities of a bishop. We have also communicated this to you, that you may write, and receive letters of communion from him.'—'Paul, therefore,' proceeds the historian, 'having thus fallen from the Episcopate, as well as from the true faith, as already said, Domnus succeeded in the administration of the Church at Antioch. But Paul being unwilling

(132) Ibid. 'Hunc igitur, Deo bellum indicentem, nec cedere volentem, cum a communione nostra abdicassemus, necesse habuimus alium ejus loco ecclesie catholice episcopum ordinare, non absque divina ut credimus providentia. Demetriani scilicet beate memorie episcopi, qui ante hunc magna cum laude eandem rexit ecclesiam, filium Domnum; virum omnibus que episcopum decent dotibus exornatum: quod quidem ideo vobis significavimus, ut ad eum scribatis, et ab eo communicatorias literas accipiatis.'—'Igitur cum Paulus a recta fide simul et episcopatu excidisset, Domnus ut dictum est, administrationem Antiochensis ecclesie suscepit. Sed cum Paulus a domo ecclesie nullatenus, excedere vellet; interpellatus Imperator Aurelianus rectissime hoc negotium dijudicavit, iis domum tradi precipiens, quibus Italici Christiane religionis antistites et Romanus episcopus scriberent. Hoc modo vir supra memoratus cum summo dolore per saecularem potestatem ab ecclesia exturbatus est.'

to leave the building of the Church, *an appeal was made to the Emperor Aurelian*, who decided most equitably on the business, ordering the building to be given up to those whom *the Christian bishops of Italy and Rome* should write. Thus, then, this man was driven out of the Church with extreme disgrace, by the temporal power itself.

Now here, brethren, I beseech you to observe the contrast between your present Canon law and the primitive Church of Rome. The Council of Antioch, though not reckoned a General Council, was yet more than a common Provincial one. The See of Antioch was of high importance, the heresy of Paul was of an aggravated character, and more than one Council was holden before the matter was determined, and yet nothing is said about the bishop of Rome. What these bishops did, too, you perceive, was done on behalf of the whole Catholic Church under heaven, because the excommunication of Paul is expressly thus stated; and the Council proceed to appoint another bishop of the Catholic Church in his place, and still nothing is said of the bishop of Rome.

In the next place, mark the caption of the epistle. It was addressed, says Eusebius, 'by common consent,' to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria; and by the epistle itself we see that it was addressed also to all the clergy of the 'whole Catholic Church under heaven.' And in the conclusion, where the Council state the purpose for which they write, they do not refer to any act of the bishop of Rome being necessary to confirm their proceedings, but taking it for granted that they had as much authority as any other portion of the Catholic Church, they communicate their acts in order that the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, and all the other bishops to whom their epistle was addressed, might write to Domnus, the newly appointed bishop, and receive

letters of communion from him. Where then, was your present doctrine of Supremacy, which makes the consent of the bishop of Rome necessary even to the decrees of a General Council, and which expressly reserves to him, and that by divine right, the sole power of deposing and translating bishops? Can circumstantial evidence be stronger than this, where you have Eusebius, the father of ecclesiastical history, with all the fathers of the celebrated Council of Antioch, acting and writing in a style at total variance with your modern system?

And yet there is one circumstance more, to cap the climax of proof in this matter. Paul was dissatisfied—there was an appeal—of course from the decision of the Council, and appeals from the decision of the bishops, saith your Canon law, must be to the bishop of Rome—the chief Pontiff. But does the ecclesiastical record of the third century say so? Nay brethren, for Eusebius expressly tells us that the appeal was made to the emperor. And the emperor referred the question to the decision, not of the bishop of Rome, but of the bishops of Italy and Rome; thus plainly giving the bishop of Rome only a voice among his Episcopal brethren of Italy. How, I beseech you, would such an imperial decree harmonize with your present doctrine?

Perhaps, however, all this was wrong—irregular: perhaps the Council of Antioch and the emperor Aurelian transgressed against the acknowledged prerogatives of the Church of Rome, and therefore no inference should be drawn from the transaction. Well, then, the bishop of Rome remonstrated—complained—rejected these schismatic doings, as was the bounden duty of the man who was the vicar of Christ, holding the place of God upon the earth, and having the authority of a shepherd over his flock in

relation to the other bishops, according to the doctrine of your Canon law and the Doway Catechism.

But did he complain? Nay, brethren, he acquiesced. There is not a word intimating the slightest dissatisfaction, but the contrary. So that here, we have the action of the Council of Antioch; the appointment of Domnus; the epistle addressed to the Catholic Church; the appeal to the emperor; the acquiescence of the Church of Rome, and the testimony of Eusebius, all concurring to demonstrate that the primitive Church of Rome knew nothing of the supremacy which you now claim over the Christian world.

I doubt not, brethren, that you are weary of this witness, and I would, for my own sake, as well as yours, that I might dismiss his testimony; but justice requires that I should extract from his pages the evidence of another celebrated name—Constantine, the Roman emperor, under whose zealous patronage the Church obtained a final victory over heathenism.

Eusebius has preserved in his invaluable record, several of this emperor's epistles, of which two may suffice upon the point before us, and to these I beg your especial attention.

(133) 'Copy of the emperor's epistles, in which he orders a council of bishops to be held at Rome, for the unity and peace of the Church.'

(133) Ibid, Lib. 10. Cap. 5. Exemplum epistolae Constantini Imperatoris, qua episcoporum Concilium Romae fieri jubet pro unitate et concordia ecclesiarum.

Constantinus Augustus Miltiadi episcopo urbis Romae et Marco. Quoniam hujusmodi plures libelli a viro clarissimo Anulino Africae Proconsule ad me sunt missi, in quibus continetur Caecilianum Carthaginiensium urbis episcopum a quibusdam collegis suis per Africam constitutis multis de causis insimulari. Quod quidem permolestum mihi videtur, in istis provinciis quas divina providentia meae devotioni

‘Constantine Augustus, to Miltiades bishop of Rome, and to Marcus. As many communications of this kind have been sent to me from Anulinus, the most illustrious proconsul of Africa, in which it is contained that Cæcilianus, the bishop of Carthage, is accused, in many respects, by his colleagues in Africa; and as this appears to be grievous, that in those provinces which divine Providence has freely entrusted to my fidelity, and in which there is a vast population, the multitude are found inclining to deteriorate, and in a manner divided into two parties, and among others, that the bishops are at variance; I have resolved that the same Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops, who appear to accuse him, and ten others, whom he himself may consider necessary for his cause, shall sail to Rome; that before you, as also Reticus, Maternus, and Marinus, your colleagues, whom I have commanded to hasten to Rome for this purpose, he may be heard, as you may understand most consistent with the most sacred law.’

Here, it is evident, that the bishop of Rome is not addressed as a man who already held the office of appellate Judge over the whole Church, but conjointly with Marcus, and merely as an equal amongst his colleagues. The complaints of the African bishops against Cæcilianus were not made to the supposed head of the Church, but to Anulinus the proconsul, and through him to the emperor. The authority to try the accused is conferred on the bishop

spontanea deditione tradidit, et in quibus maxima est populi multitudo, plebem quasi in duas partes divisam ad deteriora deflectere, et episcopos inter se dissentire. Placuit mihi ut idem Cæcilianus una cum decem episcopis qui accusare ipsum videntur, et cum decem aliis quos ipse ad suam causam necessarios esse judicaverit, Romam naviget; ut ibi coram vobis et coram Reticio, Materno, ac Marino collegis vestris, quos ea causa Romam properare jussi, possit audiri, quemadmodum sanctissimæ legi convenire optime nostis.’

of Rome by the imperial appointment, and not on him alone, but along with Marcus, Reticus, Maternus and Marinus, bishops of Italy, the whole forming a Council. To shew still more distinctly, however, the true state of papal jurisdiction at this period, let me ask your attention to the next document, where you will find the emperor addressing the bishop of Syracuse on the same subject.

(134) 'Copy of the epistle in which he commanded another council to be held, for the purpose of removing all the dissension of the bishops.'

'Constantine Augustus to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse. As certain persons, some time ago, perversely and wickedly began to dissent from the holy religion of celestial virtue, and to abandon the doctrine of the Catholic Church, desirous, therefore, of preventing such disputes among them, I had given orders, that this subject, which appeared to be agitated among them, should be rectified, by delegating certain bishops from Gaul, and summoning others of the opposite parties from Africa, who are pertinaciously and

(134) Ibid. Exemplum epistolæ Constantini Imperatoris, qua alteram episcoporum Synodum fieri jubet ut omnis episcoporum dissensio tollatur.

Constantinus Augustus Chresto Syracusanorum Episcopo. Jam quidem antea cum nonnulli pravo ac perverso animo, a sancta religione cælestique virtute et ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sententia dissidere cæpissent, hujusmodi eorum contentionem præcidere cupiens ita constitueram, ut missis e Gallia quibusdam episcopis; accitis etiam ex Africa iis qui duas in partes divisi, pertinaciter inter se atque obstinate contendunt; præsentem quoque Romanæ urbis episcopo, id quod commotum fuisse videbatur, sub horum præsentia posset diligentissima examinatione componi. Sed quoniam nonnulli, ut fere fit, et propriæ salutis et venerationis quæ sanctissimæ fidei debetur obliti, privatas adhuc similitates progredere non cessant; prolatæ jam sententiæ acquiescere nolentes, ——— 'idecirco mihi sedulo providendum fuit, ut hæc quæ post de promptum judicium voluntaria assensione jam finita esse debuerant, nunc tandem multorum interventu finem possint accipere.'

incessantly contending with one another, the bishop of Rome being also present, that by a careful examination in their presence, that which seems to be in contest might be thus decided. But since, as it happens, some, forgetful of their own salvation, and the reverence due to our most holy religion, even now do not cease to protract their own enmity, being unwilling to conform to the decision already promulgated,' ————— 'it has appeared necessary to me to provide that this matter, which ought to have ceased after the decision was issued, by their own voluntary agreement, now, at length, should be fully terminated by the intervention of many.'

'Since, therefore, we have commanded many bishops to meet together from different and remote places, in the city of Arles, towards the Calends of August, we have also thought proper to write to thee, that taking a public vehicle from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, and taking with thee two others of the second rank which thou mayest select, also three servants to afford you services on the way, you may meet them within the same day at the aforesaid place: that by thy firmness and the prudence and unanimity of the rest that assemble, this dispute,

'Quoniam igitur plurimos ex diversis ac propè infinitis locis episcopos in urbem Arelatensem intra Calendas Augusti jussimus convenire; tibi quoque scribendum esse censuimus, ut accepto publico vehiculo a viro clarissimo Latroniano Correctore Siciliae, adjunctis tibi duobus secundi ordinis quos tu eligendos putaveris, tribus item servulis qui in itinere vobis ministrare possint, intra eundem diem ad prædictum locum occurras: quo tum per tuam gravitatem,' [the Greek word is στερέότιτος, which signifies firmness] 'tum per ceterorum in unum coeuntium unanimem concordemque solertiam controversia hæc quæ per fœdissimam altercationem ad hoc usque temporis perduravit, auditis omnibus eorum qui nunc inter se dissident, quos etiam adesse jussimus, allegationibus, ad congruam religionis et fidei observantiam fraternamque concordiam tandem aliquando possit revocari.'

which has continued incessantly until the present time, in the midst of most disgraceful contentions, may be discussed, by hearing all that shall be alleged by those who are now at variance, whom we have also commanded to be present; and thus the controversy be reduced, at length, to that observance of faith and fraternal concord, which ought to prevail.'

In this epistle it appears, that the peace of the Church had not been restored by the judgment of the bishops of Italy, including the bishop of Rome. The emperor, therefore, summons a large council, for the purpose of composing the dissension, and addresses Chrestus, the bishop of Syracuse, in a strain which would suit your doctrine admirably if it had been addressed to the Roman Pontiff. For the former epistle was not addressed to the bishop of Rome alone, but to him and others. While here is an epistle addressed singly to the bishop of Syracuse, and anticipating the favorable result of the council, not only from the prudence and unanimity of the other bishops, but especially from his individual firmness. Here, then, you have—not a recurrence to Rome as a remedy after the judgment of other bishops had failed, but a recurrence to other bishops after the judgment of Italy and Rome had failed; and this by the authority of the Roman emperor, himself a Christian convert, and handed down to us as an interesting part of the annals of the primitive Church, by a cotemporary bishop, the father of ecclesiastical history.

Now I beseech, you, brethren, as men who love the truth, to contemplate these documents steadfastly, and see how totally irreconcilable they are with the rights of the bishop and the See of Rome, as your Doway Catechism and Canon law set them forth at the present day. If, as you now allege, St. Peter was constituted 'the head and pastor

of the other apostles'—if those apostles, and through them the whole Church, 'were built on him'—if 'since the translation of St. Peter's Chair from Antioch to Rome, the particular Roman Church has been head of all the Churches,'—if 'the Pope, by *the Lord's appointment*, is the successor of the blessed apostle Peter, and *holds the place of the Redeemer himself* upon the earth,' bearing the authority, 'not of a mere man, but of *the true God*'—if 'Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, gave to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of Peter, the plenitude of power,'—if 'the greater causes of the Church, especially those which concern the articles of faith, are to be referred to the seat of Peter,'—if 'to the holy Roman Church, as to the mother and head, all the greater causes of the Church may recur and receive their decision according to her sentence'—if 'The Roman Church, by *the appointment of our Lord*, is the MOTHER AND MISTRESS of all the faithful'—if all this be so, as you insist, how is it that the celebrated Eusebius—one of the most learned men of his day, writing a book on the history of the Church for the first three hundred and twenty years of the Christian era, honored by a place in your own canon law, placed on the list of saints, and called by yourselves the father of ecclesiastical history—how is it that this Eusebius knew nothing of this vast prerogative—that he recorded nothing which at all resembles it; but on the contrary, recorded so much which is totally irreconcilable with the doctrine?

How is it that Constantine, residing at Rome, and of course in the most direct channel of information as to the claims of her bishop, and surely not opposed to his just rights—how is it that Constantine knew nothing of it, but acted and wrote as if he had the whole authority to direct,

and as if the bishops, assembled in council at his command, had the perfect right to determine ?

How is it that all the bishops of Africa and Gaul, to whom the epistle of Constantine refers, knew nothing of this papal supremacy, and that of the two epistles which I have cited, that which Constantine addressed to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, looks more like the acknowledgment of a primacy, than the epistle addressed to the bishop of Rome ?

And, lastly, how is it, that of this very Council of Arles, the eighth Canon refers to the controversy mentioned in page 125, without the slightest allusion to the authority of the Roman See, or to the official rights of her Pope, against which, according to your present doctrine, Cyprian had sinned so grievously ? For this is the language of the Canon in question : (135) ‘ And concerning the Africans, since they use their own rule of rebaptizing, the Council declared, that if any heretic should come to the Church, they should examine him in the Creed, and if they found that he had been baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he should only receive the imposition of hands. But if being examined in the Creed, he should not confess this Trinity, he ought to be baptized.’ Here, we have the independence of the African Church acknowledged distinctly. ‘ *They use their own rule,*’ saith the Council. But had they done wrong by using their own rule in opposition to Pope Stephen—had he been justifiable in his high claim to their submission—should not we have had, in this canon, some reprehension of the African

(135) Concil. Hardouin. Tom. 1. p. 264. ‘ De Afris autem, quod propria sua lege utuntur ut rebaptizent, placuit ut ad ecclesiam si aliquis hæreticus venerit, interrogent eum symbolum ; et si perviderint eum in Patre et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto esse baptizatum, manus tantum ei imponatur. Quod si interrogatus symbolum, non responderit Trinitatem hanc, merito baptizetur.’

independence, and some assertion of the Roman authority—the more especially too, as the canon proceeds to decree, *for the future*, the same course which Stephen had advocated; viz. that if heretics had been baptized in the orthodox *form*, it should be held sufficient.

Brethren, I will not say that no honest mind, with these facts before it, can subscribe to the doctrine of your Canon law, because I cannot tell to what extent an honest mind may be deluded. But as the evidence appears to my understanding, I do say, that of all the claims which the world has yet witnessed, the claim which appeals to the testimony of the primitive Church in support of your doctrine of supremacy, presumes most strongly upon the ignorance of mankind.

CHAPTER XVI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Having now arrived, in the order of chronology, to the celebrated council of Nice, which is generally considered by you as the first general council, it will be expedient to examine your sentiments on the subject of councils, with which is intimately connected your important claims to infallibility. I proceed, therefore, to state, from your Dowsy Catechism and your Canon law, all that seems necessary to a proper explanation of your present doctrine.

‘The Church is infallible,’ saith your Catechism, (p. 24) ‘and is therefore to be believed; and all men may rest securely on her judgment. This is proved, ‘First, because she is the pillar and ground of truth.’ (1 Tim. iii. 15.) ‘Secondly, out of St. Matthew, xvi. 18. where Christ saith, ‘Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.’ Thirdly, out of St. John, xiv. 26. ‘But the Paraclete,’ saith he, ‘the Holy Ghost, shall teach you all things, whatsoever I shall say to you. And xvi. 13. But when the Spirit of truth cometh, he shall teach you all truth.’

Again, the said Catechism declares that ‘The definitions of a council perfectly oecumenical, that is, a general council, approved by the Pope, are infallible in matters of faith, because, first, such a council is the Church representative, and

has the same infallibility that the Church spread over the world hath. Secondly, because the definitions of such a Council are the dictates of the Holy Ghost according to that of the Apostles, deciding in Council : It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.'

From the Exposition of the Canon Law already quoted, I cite the following. (136)

'What is required to constitute a General Council ?

RULE.

'In order that a Council may be general, no other requisites are necessary than these.

1. That all the bishops should be called.
2. That it should be convoked by him who has the right to convoke it.
3. That he should preside in it, either by himself, or by some other.

A general Council is nothing else than the whole Church congregated together.'

§ 2.

'To whom does the right belong, to convene and preside in a General Council ?

RULE.

'According to the Canons it belongs to the Pope alone to convoke and preside in a General Council. Because a Coun-

(136) *Expositio Juris Canon. Jo. Pet. Gibert. Tom. 1. p. 66.*

§ 1. *Quid requiratur ut Concilium sit Generale ?*

Regula.

Ut Concilium sit Generale non alia requiruntur, quam quæ sequuntur.

1. *Ut omnes Episcopi ad illud vocentur.*
2. *Ut convocetur ab eo, cujus est illud convocare.*
3. *Ut iste in eo praesit per se, vel per alium. Concilium Generale non sit nisi ecclesia universalis congregata.*

§ 2.

Cujus sit Concilium Generale convocare, eidemque praesidere ?

cil is the Church congregated together. But the Church is a body : and the Pope is the head of this body. Therefore, as in other bodies, it is the head that convokes, and presides in the convocation, it follows that it belongs to the Pope to convoke and preside in a General Council.’

‘This rule is subject only to the following exceptions : viz.

1. If it be doubtful who is the lawful Pope.
2. If the Pope be notoriously a heretic.
3. If the Roman See be vacant.
4. If a preceding Council have fixed the time and place for a future one.

The decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basle approve these four exceptions.’

§ 3.

‘What is the authority of a General Council?

RULE.

‘The authority of a General Council is the same as the authority of the Church, and even of Holy Scripture.’

‘Because it represents the whole Church, and the same Holy Spirit who dictated the Holy Scriptures. also dictates its decrees.’

Regula.

Juxta Canones Corpore Juris inclusos solius est Papae Concilium Generale convocare, eidemque praesse.

Ratio. Concilium, ut dictum, non est nisi Ecclesia congregata : Ecclesia autem est corpus ; Papa verò hujus corporis caput. Ideoque, sicut in aliis corporibus, capitis est corpus convocare, et convocato praesse, Papæ est Concilium Generale convocare eidemque praesse. Praecedens Regula non alias patitur exceptiones, quam istas.

1. Si dubius sit Papa legitimus.
 2. Si notorius sit Haereticus.
 3. Si sedes vacat.
 4. Si Concilium praecedens futuri tempus et locum praefiniat.
- Decreta Concilii Constantiensis et Basileensis haec quatuor probant.*

‘From hence it follows, 1st. that a General Council can no more err from truth and justice, than the Church and the Holy Scripture: and therefore it cannot define or decree any thing contrary to faith, or morals.’

2. ‘That the authority of a General Council must be the greatest, since it is the same with the authority of the Holy Spirit, who is God. And this by that double title, by which the Holy Spirit governs it: namely, because it is the congregation of the spouse of the Holy Spirit, representing her entire, and because it is the interpreter of the revelation made by the Holy Spirit, whether contained in Scripture or in tradition.’

§ 3.

Quae Concilii Generalis Autoritas.

Regula.

Eadem est Concilii generalis, ac Ecclesiae, imò et Scripturae Sanctae autoritas.

Ratio: Ecclesiam totam repraesentat, ipsiusque definitiones dictat idem Spiritus Sanctus, qui Scripturam Sanctam dictavit.

Hinc sequitur 1. non magis posse Concilium generale a veritate et iustitia deviare, quam Ecclesiam, et Scripturam sanctam: ideoque nihil posse contrarium fidei, vel bonis moribus definire, vel statuere.

2. Maximam esse Concilii Generalis auctoritatem, cum eadem sit ac Spiritus Sancti, qui Deus est. Idque duplici titulo, quo illud regit Spiritus Sanctus; nempe prout est sponsae Spiritus Sancti congregatio ipsam totam repraesentans, et prout est factae a Spiritu Sancto revelationis, et in Scriptura, et Traditione contentae, interpres.

Dices: si eadem sit Concilii generalis auctoritas, ac Spiritus Sancti, unde fit, ut praecepta ab eo facta non sunt divina, sed humana; ut patet ex eo, quod non obligant cum vitae discrimine? Respondetur: Id provenire ex eo, quòd Concilium generale non sit Spiritu Sancti organum extra ea, quae sunt revelata, illave, quae fidem, vel bonos mores, proximè tangunt: idque, quia Ecclesia, quam repraesentat, constituta est tantum visibilis fidei, morumque regula.

Dices iterum: Quomodo eadem est generalis Concilii ac Scripturae Sacrae auctoritas, cum c. 4. de Elect. dicatur, a Romano Pontifice auctoritatem, roburque suum accipere; Scriptura autem Sacra a Deo, non ab homine, suam accipiat auctoritatem. Sed respondetur: Cap. opposi-

‘But you will say: If the authority of a General Council is the same with that of the Holy Spirit, how is it that the precepts enjoined by it are not divine, but human, as appears from this, that they do not bind at the peril of life? It may be answered: Because a General Council is not the organ of the Holy Spirit beyond those things which are revealed, or those which nearly affect faith and morals: and this is because the Church which it represents is only constituted to be the visible rule of faith and morals. You will say again: How should the authority of a General Council and that of the Holy Scriptures, be the same, when it is said in the Canon (C. 4. de Elect.) that the Council derives its force and authority from the Roman Pontiff, whereas the Holy Scripture derives its authority, not from man but from God. The answer however is: That the passage referred to does not concern this matter; because it speaks of what regards discipline, and the rule which compares the authority of a General Council with the authority of Holy Scripture, applies to those things which concern faith and morals.’

§ IV.

‘What is the distinction between General Councils?’

RULE.

‘The only distinction to be noted between General

tum ad rem non facere; quia, de rebus spectantibus Disciplinam, loquitur, ac hic comparatur Generalis Concilii autoritas cum Scripturas autoritate, quoad res, quae fidem moresque contingunt.

§ 4.

Quae sit inter Concilia generalia distinctio.

Regula.

Unica est inter Concilia Generalia notanda distinctio, quae petitur ex constitutionibus circa Disciplinam, quaeque in eo sita est, quod alia aliis pariores ediderint.

Ratio: Duo tantum in Conciliis Generalibus considerari possunt. 1. Potestas definiendi et statuendi. 2. Definitiones et Constitutiones.

Councils, is that which regards the constitutions about discipline, in which respect, some have decreed purer constitutions than others.'

'The reason is as follows: Two things only are to be considered in General Councils. 1. The power of defining and decreeing. 2. The definitions and decrees themselves.'

'As to the first, there can be no distinction among General Councils, because the power of the Church neither increases nor decreases; it has always remained and will always remain the same; for the modern Church is not less the spouse and the organ of the Holy Spirit, the body, whose head is Christ, the pillar and ground of truth, an army set in array, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail, with other similar expressions, than the primitive Church; the promises made to the Church are not affected by time.'

'As to the second, there can be no distinction between General Councils, if we refer to those definitions and constitutions which respect faith and morals: since, with regard to these, no definitions and decrees can be purer than the rest. It remains, therefore, that General Councils cannot be distinguished, unless by reason of those Constitutions

Quod Primum, nulla potest esse inter ea distinctio: quia nec crevit nec decrevit Ecclesiae potestas, eadem semper mansit, ut et manebit: moderna etenim Ecclesia non minus est sponsa et organum Spiritus Sancti, corpus, cujus caput est Christus, columna et firmamentum veritatis, castrorum acies ordinata, adversus quam portae inferi praevalere nequeunt, aliaque similia, quàm primitiva: promissiones Ecclesiae factae non sunt tempori obnoxiae.

Quoad secundum, nulla etiam potest esse inter Concilia generalia distinctio, si sermo sit de Definitionibus, quae fidem moresve respiciunt: cum circa illa, Definitiones et Constitutiones nequeant esse aliae aliis puriores. Restat ergò ut Concilia Generalia non distinguantur, nisi ratione Constitutionum, circa Disciplinam — circa quam priorum Conciliorum Constitutiones caeterorum Constitutionibus videntur puriores.

which concern discipline——with regard to which, the Constitutions of the earlier Councils appear purer than the Constitutions of the others.’

‘But you will say, that General Councils are distinguished from each other, as respects their authority and their dignity, and you will produce as proof for this, the Canon law, (c. 28. Dist. L.) in which it is said: Whenever the decrees of Councils are discordant, the authority of the stronger and more ancient, is to be preferred.’

‘It may be answered, however, 1. that this Canon speaks of particular Councils, for it would reconcile the Council of Ancyra, which was Provincial, with another particular Council: 2. Although it did speak of general Councils, it may be construed with regard to matters of discipline, in which the more ancient Councils are preferable to the others; because devotion was fervent in the first ages, but grew cold in succeeding times, and on this account the earlier Councils are held in greater honor, according to the saying: The fathers established reverence for antiquity.’

§ v.

‘In what respects a general Council differs from a particular one.’

Dices: Concilia Generalia, quoad auctoritatem, et dignitatem, distinguuntur inter se, afferesque ad hoc C. 28. Dist. L. in quo hæc leguntur: *Quoties Conciliorum discordans est sententia, illius magis tenenda est eujus antiquior et potior est auctoritas.*

Respondetur: 1. Illum canonem loqui de Conciliis non Generalibus: conciliat enim Concilium *Ancyranum*, quod est Provinciale, cum alio Concilio particulari; 2. Etsi loqueretur de Conciliis Generalibus, restringi posset ad res Disciplinæ, in quibus antiquiora Concilia sunt aliis præferenda: quia, quæ prioribus sæculis ferebat devotio, succedentibus temporibus tepuit, et propterea majori in honore habentur: juxta illud: antiquitati Patres sanxerunt reverentiam.

§ v.

In quibus Concilium Generale, a Particulari præcipue differat.

RULE.

‘The principal differences between a general and a particular Council, are the following :’

‘1. The Pope alone can convoke a general Council, and preside in it, but the right of convoking the others (sc. particular Councils) and of presiding in them, belongs to other bishops.’

‘2. General Councils are not subject to error nor to sin ; but particular Councils are subject to both.’

‘3. General Councils bind the whole Church ; but particular Councils only bind the part represented.’

‘5. The decisions of general Councils upon matters of law are infallible, but contrariwise of the others.’

These extracts may suffice to shew your present doctrine on the points of the authority of the Pope and of a general Council, together with the claim of infallibility connected therewith. And now, brethren, I shall undertake to prove, by the acknowledged records of the first General Council, taken from your own writers, that every important item of your theory is a change from your primitive system.

For 1. Your Canon law requires that a general Council be called by him who has ‘the right to call it,’ the Pope alone. But the Council of Nice was convoked by the Emperor.

Regula.

Præcipua inter Concilium Generale et Particulare discrimina non alia sunt, quam quæ sequuntur.

1. Solus Papa potest Concilium Generale convocare, in eoque præsidere ; jus verò alia convocandi in iisque præsidendi ad alios pertinet.

2. Generalia Concilia non sunt errori, nec peccato obnoxia ; Particularia verò, utriusque.

3. Generalia obligant totam Ecclesiam ; Particularia verò, ex se ipsis, non ligant, nisi illius partem.

5. Judicium Conciliorum Generalium circa jus, est irreformabile ; secus de aliorum judicio.

2. Your Canon requires that the Pope should preside in the Council, either by himself or by some other.

But in the Council of Nice he did not preside, either by himself or by any other.

3. Your Canon declares that the authority of a general Council is the same with that of Holy Scripture and of the Holy Spirit; applying to its decrees the words of the apostles: 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.'

But the Council of Nice adopted no such style of expression: neither did it decree any thing concerning faith, except as an inference from Holy Scripture.

Nor did it claim infallibility; nor did the fathers of that age ascribe infallibility to it.

Nor are its decrees observed by you at this day.

4. Your Canon attempts to distinguish between the authority of Councils with respect to faith and morals, and their authority with respect to discipline. But the Council of Nice used the same phraseology for both, neither is there any ground for the distinction, in Scripture or in reason. Hence the fathers of that age do not defend the Nicene Creed, by the presumed infallibility of the Council, but by Scripture; so that the word of God was with them the decisive test, and not the theory of infallibility. The true origin, therefore, of this your favorite distinction seems to have been, that the decrees on faith, being esteemed sound interpretations of the Scriptures, grew into authority as such; but the decrees on discipline, not being founded on Scripture, but only resting on the recommendation of the Council, were observed or not observed, as the Church thought proper. Patience and perseverance, brethren, are necessary auxiliaries in the argument before us. May He who is the Fountain of Light bestow them on the writer and the reader; and along with them, grant us that sincere and candid spirit, which is essential to every lover of truth.

CHAPTER XVII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The two first subjects presented by the plan of the preceding chapter, respect the person who called and presided over the Council of Nice.

In consistency with the requisitions of your Canon law, you assert that (137) 'Constantine, the Emperor, in order that he might succour the Church in her difficulties, *by the authority of Sylvester, the Chief Pontiff*, and according to the opinion of the other bishops, summoned bishops from every part of the world to Nicea, a city of Bithynia.'

And again, you state the presidency over the Council in these terms; (137) 'Among the assembled bishops, the chief, as leader, of the whole host, were Hosius, bishop of Cordova, Vitus and Vincentius, *who were sent by the blessed Silvester that they might preside over the Council as legates of the Apostolic See*, and Alexander bishop of Alexandria.'

(137) 'Constantinus imperator ut laboranti subveniret ecclesie, Silvestri summi pontificis auctoritate, aliorumque sacerdotum sententia, ex universis orbis terrarum partibus episcopos in Nicæam Bithyniæ urbem, ad lacum Ascanium ab Antigono conditam, honorificentissimis litteris accersivit.' Mansi Concil. Tom. 2. p. 637.

(138) 'Inter hos primas obtinebant, ut totius agminis ductores, Osius episcopus Cordubensis, Vitus et Vincentius, qui a beato Silvestro missi, ut apostolicæ sedis legati synodo præerant, et Alexander Alexandrinus.' ib.

These statements are the work, as you are aware, brethren, of no cotemporary writer. The records which you have handed down to us give not the slightest warrant for them, but rather, as I shall now proceed to shew, contradict them altogether.

And first, as to the authority by which the Council was summoned, I presume you will agree that there can be no better witness than the emperor himself, whose address at the opening of the Council makes a part of its history. Let us cite it entire from your own version.

(139) *'The Oration of the Emperor Constantine to the Nicene Council, on Peace.'*

'Inasmuch as I have so greatly longed, beloved friends, to avail myself of this your license, I acknowledge that I ought to render thanks to God, the King and Governor of all; that he has bestowed upon me this peculiar favor, the beholding you at length convened together in one, and about to manifest (as I trust) an unanimous agreement. Do not therefore, suffer any storm of hatred, hostile to our prosperity, to drive this good away: and, since the warfare carried on by tyrants against God, has been already subdued through his divine power, let not the lost fiend cast down the sacred discipline and religion of Christ, to be torn by

(139) *'Constantini Imper. oratio ad Concilium Nicænum de pace.*

Quoniam mihi admodum in optatis fuit, amici carissimi, isto vestro concessu aliquando frui: jam eo potius, regi et moderatori omnium Deo ideo gratias me agere debere fateor, quod mihi præter alia omnia largitus est, ut istud quod omnibus bonis antecellit, nempe vos in unum convocatos, unamque omnes et consentientem habituros voluntatem oculis tandem aspiciam. Nolite igitur pati ut ulla invidiæ tempestas, nostris rebus prosperis inimica, istud bonum labefactet. neque cum tyrannorum dimicatio contra Deum suscepta, jam Dei virtute profligata sit, ut denuo perditus dæmon divinam Christi disciplinam et religionem, malevolorum obtreccionibus lacerandam objiciat; quandoquidem intestina seditio in ecclesia Dei conflata multo plus molestiarum

the malevolent opposition of the wicked. For intestine sedition excited in the Church, seems to me to include within itself far more of trouble and acrimony, than any secular warfare, and these are far more prolific of grief than any external calamity. Forasmuch therefore, as, through the help and decree of the all good and powerful God, I have gained the victory over my enemies, I should think nothing more left to me, than that I should manifest my gratitude to God, and that together with those, on whom by the help of God I have bestowed liberty, I should behold and sympathise in the common joy. As soon, therefore, as the tidings of your dissension reached my ears, I did not neglect the unwelcome rumour; *but chiefly desirous that through my labour and care a remedy might be found, I summoned you all without delay.* And now, although, truly, I rejoice exceedingly in beholding your assembly, yet, nevertheless, I think it becomes me *chiefly so to order matters by the expression of my sentiments,* that I may see you all bound together by the conjunction of your minds, and that one common and peaceful agreement may grow and flourish

et acerbitatis, quam quodvis bellum pugnave, videtur mihi in se complecti: atque hæc longe plus, quam externa, doloris afferre videntur. Cum igitur Dei optimi maximi nutu et auxilio adjutus, victoriam ab hostibus reportassem, nihilque amplius mihi reliquum putarem, quam ut tum Deo gratias agerem, tum una cum his qui, Deo opem ferente, per me essent in libertatem vindicati, communem laetitiam animo perspicerem; ut primum dissensio vestra ad aures meas præter omnem spem pervenit, rumorem illum de ea allatum non plane neglexi; sed optans in primis, ut huic rei mea opera et sedulitate remedium inveniretur, omnes vos absque mora accersivi. Ac tametsi lætor equidem vehementer, cum jam vestrum consessum intueor: tunc tamen arbitror me res maxime ex animi sententia gesturum, ubi omnes vos animorum conjunctione colligatos, et unam eamque communem inter omnes, et tranquillam concordiam (quam quidem vos, cum sitis Deo consecrati, aliis etiam a Deo impetrare consentaneum est) vigere florequere intellexero. Itaque ne ulla sit, quaeso, in vobis mora, O caris-

amongst you, which, indeed, it is right for you, since you are consecrated to God, and also for others, to make the subject of earnest prayer to the deity. Therefore, I pray you that there be no delay on your part, beloved servants, and good ministers of God and of the common Lord and Saviour of us all, neither burden yourselves, I say, thenceforth, by bringing forward the causes of the dissension which has been raging amongst you; but first of all things give your labor, in order that every chain by which controversy has been upheld, may be dissolved by the laws of peace. For thus you will perform a work acceptable to God the Supreme Governor, and bestow upon me, your fellow servant, the greatest favor.'

How, brethren, I beseech you, does this accord with your assertion, that Constantine summoned the Council, by the authority of Silvester, the bishop of Rome? The emperor expressly takes to himself the whole matter, both in its design and in its execution. 'I did not neglect the rumour of your dissension,' saith he, 'but being chiefly desirous that THROUGH MY LABOR AND CARE A REMEDY MIGHT BE DISCOVERED, I SUMMONED YOU ALL WITHOUT DELAY.' Where is Silvester, the pope at that time, mentioned in this address of Constantine? NOWHERE! Yet you imagine that the pope was the principal, and the emperor only his agent. Yea, you imagine that the right to summon a general Council belongs to the pope alone, and that this is a right descending to him from St. Peter, having its origin in

simi, ac ministri, bonique famuli Dei, et communis omnium nostrum Domini et Salvatoris; ne gravemini, inquam, deinceps causas dissensionis inter vos grassantis jam in medium afferre: primoque omnium operam detis, ut omnia vincula, quibus constricta tenentur controversia, pacis legibus omnino dissolvantur. Sic enim estis et Deo omnium gubernatorem gratam facturi, et mihi vestro conservo maximum præstaturi beneficium.' Mansi Concil. Tom. 2. p. 662.

the grant of Christ himself; whereas neither did the apostle Peter ever call a general Council, nor did any bishop of Rome contemplate such a measure, until long after the period of the Council of Nice. The Apostolic Council of which we have the history in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, does not appear to have been convened by the authority of any one Apostle: we are only told 'that the Apostles and ancients (elders) came together to consider of this matter.' The sentence of the Council was adopted on the suggestion of James, the bishop of Jerusalem, 'Men and brethren,' saith he, (v. 13.) 'hear me,' and in verse 19, he concludes by saying, 'Wherefore, I judge,' &c. 'And it pleased the apostles and ancients with the whole Church,' (v. 22) to decree accordingly, and the letter sent to the gentiles was written in the name of all the apostles, without distinction or difference. As to the case narrated in the twenty-first chapter, which some of your writers also call a council, it is still less to your purpose, for none of the apostles are mentioned but James. 'Paul went in with us to James, and all the ancients were assembled.' (v. 18) From that time until the conversion of Constantine, there is not the slightest trace of an attempt to summon a general Council. Particular Councils were holden on many occasions, and some of them, as that holden at Antioch on account of Paul of Samosata, were of great extent and importance. But with this last, I have already shewn, from Eusebius, that the pope had no concern. The Council of Arles, to which great respect is due, was summoned by Constantine, and you do not claim any jurisdiction for the pope on that occasion: so that the first instance of what you rightly call a General Council, occurred more than three centuries after the commencement of the Christian era, and that council is expressly stated by the emperor himself to have been a

remedy devised by his own care for the Church; and we find him accordingly exhorting the bishops in person, without even mentioning the pope, or in any way alluding to him. Can any candid mind ask for more conclusive evidence to disprove your present doctrine, and to demonstrate the proposition, that the primitive Church of Rome held no such sentiments about her own supremacy, as her successor advanced at a subsequent day?

An answer to this address of Constantine, however, was delivered, as a proper token of respect on the part of the Council of Nice, and this by Eustathius, the bishop of Antioch. And you might expect that this would supply the omissions and gently insinuate the mistake of the emperor, in passing over, so strangely, the paramount authority of the bishop of Rome. But you will find in it, brethren, nothing of the kind, as I shall shew by giving it entire, in the following extract:

(140) 'We render thanks to God, most excellent emperor, who has committed to you the kingdom of the world, who by you has abolished the error of idolatry, and established tranquillity in the minds of the faithful. The stench of demons has ceased: that false religion, the worshipping a multitude of gods, is dissolved: the shadows of infidelity are driven away, the whole world is enlightened by the rays of divine knowledge. The Father is glorified, the Son is adored together with him, the Holy Spirit is announced, the consub-

(140) 'Deo agimus gratias, O optime imperator, qui terrarum tibi regnum dirigit, qui errorem simulacrorum per te abolevit, et in fidelium animis tranquillitatem collocavit. Cessavit nidor dæmonum: multiplicis deorum cultus soluta est falsa religio; expelluntur tenebræ impietatis, luce divinæ cognitionis orbis terrarum illustratur. Pater glorificatur, Filius simul adoratur, Spiritus sanctus annunciat, trinitas consubstantialis, una divinitas in tribus personis et hypostasibus prædicatur. Per eum, O imperator, tibi munitur tuæ pietatis potentia. Eam nobis

stantial Trinity, One Deity in three persons and hypostases is preached. Through him, O emperor, the power of your piety is fortified. Preserve it for our sake, whole and inviolate. Let no heretic, invading the Church, take away aught from the Trinity, degrading thereby what remains. Arius, who derives his name from madness, is the cause of our speech and of our assembly: who being allured, I know not how, to the presbyterate of the Church of Alexandria, concealed from us that he was an alien from the doctrine of the blessed apostles and prophets. For he does not fear to deprive the only begotten Son and Word of the Father, of the same equal substance with the Father, and this worshipper of the creature contends that the creature should be numbered with the Creator. But you will persuade him, O emperor, that his opinion should be changed, that he may no longer oppose the apostolic doctrine; or if he should persist in the impiety of the vain opinion, of which he is already convicted, you will take him utterly away from the fellowship of Christ, and from ours, lest by the impure flattery of his words he should poison the souls of the simple.'

Now I confess that these documents carry with them, to my mind, the clearest evidence against the primitive antiquity of your present doctrines. For manifest it seems to me,

serva integram et inviolatam. Nullus hæreticus subiens Ecclesiam æ trinitate unum aliquid auferat, reliquum quod restat affectum ignominia. Arius nobis, qui a furore accepit denominationem, orationis causa est et conventus: qui nescio quomodo allectus in presbyteratum Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ nos latuit, cum esset alienus a doctrina beatorum apostolorum et prophetarum. Unigenitum enim filium et verbum patris non veretur privare eadem et æquali cum patre substantia, et creatorem cum creatura creaturæ cultor contendit connumerare. Eum autem persuaseris, imperator, mutata sententia, non repugnare doctrinæ apostolicæ; aut si vanæ opinionis, cujus est convictus, persistit in impietate, eum de Christi et nostro cœtu funditus sustuleris, ne suis turbidis verborum blanditiis venetur animas simpliciorum. ib. p. 663

that if the Church of Rome, in the days of Constantine, had claimed a supremacy, and if the Catholic Church had then understood and allowed this claim as you suppose, the emperor could never have made the address which I have cited, nor could the Council of Nice, by their organ Eustathius, have tacitly allowed its truth. Only imagine, brethren, I beseech you, a modern sovereign belonging to your communion, acting and speaking like Constantine, summoning a Council of the whole Church, and telling this Council, when assembled, that *he*, IN HIS CARE, had devised this remedy for the troubles of the Church, and finishing his oration without once adverting to the pope in any way whatever. Imagine an answer to such a speech by one of your bishops in the name of all the rest, in which this imperial assumption is allowed, and thanks given to God for it, while not a syllable is found to recognize the being or the authority of the Vicar of Christ, the bishop of bishops. What would you say of such an address and such an answer? Could they, by any stretch of fancy, be attributed to a modern assembly such as the Council of Trent? And can they be honestly reconciled with the idea, that pope Silvester, and the emperor Constantine, and the fathers of the Nicene Council, had any conception of those claims of the papacy, which you now require us to acknowledge at the peril of our souls!

No further proof seems necessary for my first assertion, that the Council of Nice was not convoked by the pope; but nevertheless it may be as well to add the express admission of your own canonist Gibert, who extends the remark to many other of the early Councils.

(141) 'As to the convocation of general Councils,' saith this

(141) 'Circa Convocationem Conciliorum Generalium, Orientalia multum ab Occidentalibus discrepant. Scilicet in eo, quod priora sin-

writer, 'the Eastern and the Western differ greatly. In this respect, namely, that the former were convoked by the emperors, but the latter by the popes, except indeed, the Council of Pisa, which was called by the Cardinals. The proof is easily adduced. Thus the emperor Constantine in his first address to the Nicene Council, expressly declares, that he had convoked it. So the first Council of Constantinople in their epistle to Theodosius, in which they give him thanks, and render an account of what they had done, declare that they had been summoned together at his command. The same thing is asserted in the title to the Canons of this Council.'

'In the Council of Ephesus, manifold is the proof that it was convened by the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian. It is expressly declared in the exordium of the Council, that it was held by the decree of the most religious and Christian emperors. The same is repeated in the beginning of all its sessions.'

'The care, which the Council of Ephesus manifests, in proving that it was convoked by the emperors Theodosius

gula, ab Imperatoribus convocata fuerint, posteriora vero a Pontificibus, excepto Pisano, a cardinalibus convocata. Facile probatur utrumque factum. Et quidem Imperator Constantinus in prima sua ad Synodum Nicaenam oratione, expressè dicit, se illam convocavisse. Primum Concilium Constantinopolitanum in sua ad Theodosium Epistola, qua ipsi gratias agit, rationemque gestorum a se reddit, declarat, se ipsius jussu congregatum fuisse. Idem dicitur in Inscriptione Canonum ejus.

'In Concilio Ephesino multiplex occurrit probatio, illud ab Impp. Theodosio et Valentiniano coactum fuisse. Illud in Exordio Concilii expresse dicitur, ex Decreto Religiosissimorum, et Christianissimorum Imperatorum. Idem repetitur in principio uniuscujusque actionis.'

'Curam, quam Concilium Ephesinum crebro indicat, se ab Imperatoribus Theodosio et Valentiniano convocatum fuisse, imitata est Synodus Calcedonensis; namque, in principio singularum actionum, quæ sunt xv. numero, jussionis Impp. Valentiniani et Marciani, a quibus con-

and Valentinian, was imitated by the Council of Chalcedon; for in the beginning of all its acts, it makes express mention of the command of the emperors Valentinian and Marcian, by whom it was convoked. It does the same in the title of the epistles which it wrote to those emperors, or to the empress Pulcheria.

‘St. Leo asks Theodosius, that he would grant a general Council to Italy. And many rescripts of the emperors follow, which teach that the calling and the translation of General Councils belonged to their office. What we have observed of the convocation of the four first General Councils, is confirmed by the letter of the emperor Justinian, to the bishops assembled at Constantinople by his command, for in order that he might defend his convocation of this Council by the example of his predecessors, he relates on what account they had convoked the preceding Councils.’

Here, then, brethren, the first part of my argument is surely established, beyond the possibility of fair objection. Your Canon law lays down as the primary requisite of a General Council, that it be summoned by him who alone ‘has the right to call it,’ viz. the pope.

But I have proved that the first General Council was not summoned by the pope, but by the emperor, and your own Canonist declares the same remark to be applicable

vocata fuerat, expressam mentionem facit; similemque facit in Epistolarum Inscriptione, quâ ad eosdem Imperatores vel ad Pulcheriam Imperatricem scripsit.

‘S. Leo Theodosium rogat, ut Italiae Concilium Universale largiatur. Sequuntur plura Imperatorum rescripta, quae docent, ad eorum officium pertinere Conciliorum convocationem, ac translationem. Quod de quatuor priorum Conciliorum Generalium convocatione observatum fuit, confirmatur per Epistolam Justiniani Imperatoris, ad Episcopos Constantinopoli ex ipsius jussu congregatos; ut enim convocationem hujus Concilii a se factam suorum praedecessorum exemplo tueretur, refert, qua ratione Concilia praecedentia convocaverint.’
Expos. Jur. Canon. Tom. 1. p. 77.

to all the four first General Councils, and to many others. Hence, your primitive system has been changed in this important particular, and your Canon law now ties the definition of a General Council to a restriction which the primitive Church never knew.

2. The second point in which I am to prove your innovation upon your own ancient doctrines, is that which concerns the presidency of a General Council. For your Canon law requires, as essential to a General Council, that the pope shall not only summon it, but also preside over it, either in person or by proxy. But in the Council of Nice, he did not preside, either in person or by proxy. And this I shall next proceed to shew.

(142) 'As to the presidency in the Council of Nicæ,' says your own Gibert, 'it is commonly accorded to Hosius, the bishop of Cordova, but it is disputed by what title; some saying that he possessed this honor, as being the legate of the apostolic See; **BUT THERE IS NOT A VESTIGE OF THIS LEGATION.** Others think that this was done on account of his singular virtue, knowledge, and experience; together with his old age, which attracted towards him great veneration. If confidence may be placed in the subscriptions of this Council which are read in the Councils, &c. it might be concluded that the bishops sat in it *according to the order of their respective provinces.*'

(142) 'Quoad præsidium in Concilio Nicæno, vulgò hæc tribuitur Osio, Cordubensi episcopo, sed ambigitur quem ob titulum, aliis dicentibus, illum hoc honore potitum fuisse, quatenus legatum sedis Apostolicæ; *sed nullum est istius legationis vestigium.* Putant alii hoc factum fuisse, ob virtutem ejus, scientiam, et experientiam singulares, necnon grandævitatam, quæ ipsi magnam venerationem conciliabat. Si fides haberi posset subscriptionibus hujus Concilii, quæ leguntur Concil. Tom. 11. p. 50. &c. inde concluderetur, Episcopos in eo sedisse, secundum ordinem suæ Provinciæ.' *Expos. Jur. Can. Tom. 1. p. 87.*

Here is a learned Canonist from among yourselves, brethren, plainly acknowledging that the assertion by which you sustain the claim of the pope to the presidency of the Nicene Council, is without a vestige of proof. Nor is this the only instance in which Councils were held in the same manner, for I shall cite some other passages from the same high authority to shew that the pope did not preside over other General Councils, which yet were never doubted by the Church.

(143) 'The same thing,' (viz. that the bishops sat according to the order of their provinces) 'may be inferred,' says Gibert, 'from the subscriptions of the first Council of Constantinople, so far as concerns the session of those who were actually present, if they are worthy of credit: namely, that Nectarius presided, since his subscription is first of all. But this head of the presidency brings suspicion upon the subscriptions; because it is certain that St. Gregory Nazianzen presided, for Nectarius was not elected until after the fathers had subscribed. The same may be said of the subscriptions of the Egyptian bishops, who were not present at the Council, unless indeed by a subscription ready made. Both these facts we learn from the life of Gregory. The

'Idem inferri licet ex subscriptionibus Constantinopolitani I. quoad sessionem eorum, qui illi interfuerunt, modò tamen fide dignæ sint. Item Nectarium in eo præsedisse, cum primus omnium scribatur, sed hoc præsentia caput subscriptiones suspectas facit; quia certum est Sanctum Gregorium Nazianzenum præsedisse, cum Nectarius non nisi post subscriptiones patrum, electus fuerit. Idem est de subscriptionibus Episcoporum Egypti, qui ad Concilium non advenerunt, nisi perfecta jam subscriptione. Factum utrumque discimus a Gregorio in ejus vita, — Subscriptiones hujus concilii in Bibliotheca Justelli p. 303 insignem gerunt falsitatis notam: nempè, iis, qui hoc concilium subscripsère, annumerantur tres legati S. Leonis, Pontificis, ad Concilium Calcedonense LXX annis post celebratum, nempè, ann. 451. Constantinopolitanum an. 381 habitum fuit.' Ib. p. 87.

subscriptions of this Council in the 'Bibliotheca' of Justellus carry a notable mark of falsehood, for among those who subscribed that Council, there are reckoned three who were legates of S. Leo, the pope, at the Council of Chalcedon, celebrated seventy years after, namely, A. D. 451. Whereas the Council of Constantinople was held, A. D. 381.'

Note this, brethren, I beseech you; for it carries a double evidence against the papal prerogative. The simple fact that it furnishes another General Council where the pope did not preside, either in person or by proxy, thereby confirming the view taken of the Council of Nice, is one proof of no small importance. But the melancholy evidence of fraud in the forgery of false subscriptions—names of the bishops of Egypt who were not present—and specially names of legates of the pope who were probably not born at the time, since they were certainly present at another Council held seventy years later—this evidence goes beyond any other, in my mind, to condemn the whole claim.

Brethren, it is not I, who charge the transmitters of your records with forgery. True or false, genuine or corrupted, I have promised that I will take them as I find them, and will only question their truth, when I have your own warrant for doing so. But here is that warrant furnished by one of your most celebrated Canonists; and what, I pray you, is the inference to an unsophisticated mind? Apply the principle to any claim under heaven, and tell me whether the production of a false document on its behalf is not the most powerful evidence against it? Tell me whether a claim known to be true, primitive, universally acknowledged by those who lived before us, and above all, derived from the authority of heaven, was ever yet defended by human forgery? Yea, tell me, whether the employment of a

forgery in support of this prerogative by those who first stooped to such a wretched artifice, does not demonstrate *their* perfect conviction that the claim itself was utterly unfounded in justice and in truth?

I do not charge this forgery upon the present race, nor upon any except those who committed, or willingly and knowingly sustain the fraud. I doubt not that the great majority amongst you would spurn such miserable aid, and with one voice condemn the cause which relied upon it. But it is not the only instance which will meet our eyes before our course is ended; and although it has presented itself out of the regular track of my argument, you will not wonder that I did not pass it by, even at the cost of a brief digression.

Following, then, the track of evidence in the direct line of antiquity, I find our author next stating as follows:

(144) 'With regard,' saith he, 'to the other six General Councils of the East, it is known certainly from their acts, who presided over them, and what was the order of their session. And in the most ancient of them, the Council of Ephesus, it is, by the greater part of its seven acts, established, that St. Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria, presided.'

(145) 'In all the meetings of the fifth General Council,' continues our author, 'called the second Council of Con-

(144) 'Quoad reliqua sex Concilia Generalia Orientalia, ex eorum actis certo cognoscitur, quis illis præderit, quisque sessionis ordo fuerit. Utque ab antiquissimo eorum, Ephesino, ordiar, in plerisque vii. actionum ejus, cernitur, Sanctum Cyrillum, Patriarcham Alexandrinum præsedisse:' lb.

(145) 'In singulis collationibus quinti Concilii Generalis, sive Constantinop. II. cernitur, Patriarcham hujus urbis ipsi præsedisse; nam primus omnium Patrum scribitur, in principio singularum. Idem videtur in fine 8. seu ultimæ, ubi subscriptiones referuntur, nam subscrip-

stantinople, it is established that the patriarch of that city presided: for he is recorded the first of the fathers in the beginning of each. The same appears at the end of the eighth or last, where the subscriptions are set down: for the subscription of this patriarch is the first of all. But this patriarch presided over that Council, because Vigilius, the pope, did not chuse to be present, either by himself or by legates.'

Here we have a fact, brethren, which, although evidently stated as a mode of accounting for the patriarch of Constantinople presiding over the Council, instead of the pope, proves a great deal more to a moment's reflection. For, according to your Canon law, it is necessary to the very existence of a General Council, that the pope should first summon it, and secondly preside in it. But here was a Council in which the pope did not chuse to make his appearance, either in person or by his legates. It was not one of the excepted cases in which the Council of Constance long afterwards determined that the consent of the pope was not necessary. But it presented the very case in which, according to your present doctrine, the Council could not have been held at all. And yet *it was held*, although the pope was not willing to sanction it by his presence or by his legates, thus clearly shewing that **THE FATHERS OF THAT COUNCIL DID NOT ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR DOCTRINE**, but held themselves as competent to the celebration of a General Council without the pope, as with him.

There is yet another class of facts, noted by our author on this point of the presidency of General Councils, which

tio Patriarchæ omnium prima est, *Conc. Tom. 5.* hic autem Patriarcha præfuit huic Concilio, quia Vigilius Pontifex, neque ipse, neque per legatos, interesse voluit.' p. 88.

he very consistently calls singular. 'In the sixth General Council,' saith he, 'there is something singular about the presidency, namely, that in the beginning of eighteen of its sessions, it is said, that the emperor Constantine Pogonatus presided : *Our most pious emperor presiding.*' (146)

Nor is this a solitary instance, for he proceeds to mention that, 'The singularity above observed in the sixth General Council, concerning the presidency, has also a place occasionally in the seventh General Council, for there it is said in the eighth session, that the empress Irene, with the emperor, her son, presided.' (147)

And once more : 'The same things appear,' saith he, 'in the eighth General Council concerning the presidency, as in the sixth and seventh, for in sessions 6. 7. 8. it is said that the Emperor Basil presided, ' *Our most pious emperor presiding.*' (148)

Nay, even in the General Councils of the Western Church, where your present doctrine might have been expected to be always professed if any where, there were some instances totally subversive of the importance which it claims. Thus, (149) 'It is certain,' says Gibert, 'that the pope was not

(146) 'Est aliquid singulare in sexto Concilio Generali, circa præsidentiam, nimirum, in principio singularum xviii. actionum ejus, dicitur, Imperatorem Constantinum Pogonatum præfuisse; *Præsidente piissimo Imperatore.*' Ib.

(147) 'Singularitas supra observata in Concilio Generali sexto circa præsidentiam, locum habet aliquatenus in Concilio Generali vii. ibi enim in actione 8. dicitur, Irenem Imperatricem, cum filio suo Imperatore præfuisse.' ib.

(148) 'Eadem fere videntur in Octavo Concilio Generali circa præsidentiam ut in sexto et in septimo, nam in Actionibus 6. 7. 8. dicitur, Imperatorem Basilium præfuisse. *Præsidente piissimo Imperatore.*' ib. p. 89.

(149) 'Quoad reliqua Concilia, certum est, Pontificem nullo modo interfuisse Concilio Pisano, neque per se, neque per legatos,——quoad

present in any manner at the Council of Pisa, either by himself or by legates. Nor in the Council of Basil, were the legates of the pontiff present, unless at some of the sessions when he recalled them, &c.'

Brethren, how much more evidence is necessary to demonstrate the proposition, that your second Canonical essential to the holding of a General Council, was not and could not have been supposed essential by the Church of Rome, at the primitive day? I know well how ingeniously your writers manage this difficulty, so as to leave unharmed your modern doctrine; but the facts themselves are undeniable, and speak a language not to be mistaken.

That the first General Council, namely, the Council of Nice, was called, not by the pope, but by the emperor; and that the bishop of Cordova in Spain, presided in it:

That the greater part of all the other General Councils were also called by the emperors, and that their presidents were taken sometimes from one See, and sometimes from another, and that frequently the sovereigns that called them presided:

That even in the neighborhood of Rome, there have been General Councils called and conducted without the action of the pope:

These facts prove, beyond the power of fair argument to question, that the fathers who composed these several Councils did not profess nor believe your doctrine: viz. that the pope is the Vicar of Christ, holding the place of God upon the earth; that he is the head of the Catholic Church by divine right; that the General Councils of the Church when summoned and presided over by him, possess the attribute of infallibility, but that if he does not summon and preside in

Concilium Basileense, legatos Pontificis non adfuisse nisi quibusdam sessionibus, cum eos revocaverit, quoties dissolvit, &c. ib. p. 86.

them, they are unlawful. And hence I think it is demonstrated, that in the second requisite of the doctrine of Councils, the primitive Church of Rome did not hold your present system, and therefore, in this too, you have changed.

I add one observation more, in answer to any argument drawn from the subscriptions to the Council of Nice which are stated differently by different writers. Thus Gelasius states them in the following form :

‘Hosius, the bishop of Cordova, for the Holy Churches of God which are at Rome, and in all Italy and Spain, and in the rest of the nations dwelling beyond even to the ocean, by those who were with him, Vito and Vincent, presbyters of Rome.’ (150)

This, surely, looks very well, and accords admirably with the assertion that Hosius presided as the deputy of the pope, along with his legates. But a little attention shews us that Gelasius does not profess to give the words of the real subscriptions : for, first, he sets down only thirteen names out of three hundred and eighteen ; and secondly, he graces these with a rhetorical flourish, as for example, ‘Leontius, of Cesarea in Cappadocia, the ornament of the Church of the Lord’—‘Protogenes, that admirable man,’ &c. (151) Every one must see, that names set down in this way, have no claim for accuracy to be compared with a copy from the original subscriptions.

But the common version of the doings of this Council,

(150) ‘Osius episcopus Cordubæ sanctis Dei ecclesiis, quæ Romæ sunt, et in Italia et Hispania tota, et in reliquis ulterius nationibus usque ad oceanum commorantibus, per eos qui cum ipso erant, Romanos presbyteros Vitonem et Vincentium.’ Gel. Hist. Concil. Nicaen. Mansi. Concil. Tom. 2. in loco.

(151) ‘Leontius Cesareae Cappadociae, ecclesiae domini ornamentum,’ ‘Protogenes ille admirabilis.’ &c. ib.

which stands first in your own books and possesses your highest confidence, has a catalogue, as you know, at the end of it, in which the names of all the bishops are professedly given, as subscribed by their own hands : and this catalogue states the matter very differently, viz.

(152) 'Hosius, bishop of the city of Cordova of the province of Spain has said : 'Thus I believe, as it is above written.'

'We, Victor and Vincent, presbyters of the city of Rome, for the venerable man, our father and bishop, St. Sylvester, have subscribed, thus believing, as it is above written.'

Then follow the names of the other subscribers; and the whole document, as it stands, fully sustains the conclusion stated by your canonist Gibert, nor, indeed, is it fairly capable of any other construction.

(152) 'Subscripserunt trecenti decem et octo episcopi, qui in eodem Concilio convenerunt.

'Osius episcopus civitatis Cordubensis provinciae Hispaniae dixit : Ita credo sicut superius scriptum est.

'Victor et Vincentius presbyteri urbis Romae pro venerabili viro papa et episcopo nostro sancto Silvestro subscripsimus, ita credentes, sicut supra scriptum est.' Mansi Concil. Tom. 2. p. 692.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

In examining the testimony directly borne by the Council of Nice on the subject of the pope's supremacy, and the dominion of the Church of Rome, I propose to extract in full those Canons of that great Council which bear upon the question, subjoining your own latin version, for your greater satisfaction.

CANON 6.

(153) 'Let the ancient customs be kept, which are established in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the bishop of Alexandria may have power over all these, forasmuch as this is the custom also with the bishop of Rome. In like manner also, in Antioch and in the other provinces, let the privileges, the dignities, and the authority of the Churches be preser-

CANON 6.

(153) 'Antiqui mores servantur, qui sunt in Egypto, Libya, et Pentapoli, ut Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem, quandoquidem et episcopo Romano hoc est consuetum. Similiter et in Antiochia, et in aliis provinciis sua privilegia ac suae dignitates et auctoritates ecclesiis servantur. Illud autem est omnino manifestum quod si quis absque metropolitani sententia factus sit episcopus, eum magna Synodus desinivit non esse episcopum. Quod si quidem communi omnium electioni, quae et rationi consentanea, et ex regula ecclesiastica facta est, duo vel tres propter suam, qua delectantur, contentionem contradicant, vincant plurium suffragia.' Gent. Herveto interprete. Mansi. Concil. Tom. 2. p. 669:

ved. This too, is altogether manifest, that if any be made bishop, without the decision of his metropolitan, this great Council decrees him not to be a bishop. But if it be by the common choice of all, which is agreeable to reason, and according to the ecclesiastical rule, and two or three oppose him for the sake of the contention in which they delight, let the suffrages of the greater part prevail.'

CANON 7.

(154) 'Since an ancient tradition and custom has obtained that he who is bishop in Jerusalem should be honored, let him have the fruits of this honor, the proper dignity of the metropolis being preserved.'

Now, here, brethren, is the whole which refers in any way to the subject in question, but it is abundantly sufficient to substantiate the charge of innovation, in many important particulars.

For, in the first place, it is obvious to any reflecting mind, that there could have been no motive for passing the sixth Canon, unless the fathers of the Council had reason to apprehend some encroachment on the liberties of the Catholic Church. What this encroachment was, we have already learned from Irenæus, Cyprian and Eusebius. The disposition to lord it over God's heritage, for which Irenæus rebuked Victor, one pope of Rome, and Cyprian and Firmilian rebuked Stephen, another pope, had given warning, long before the Council of Nice, of the quarter in which a monopoly of power was likely to accumulate. The immense advantage which the Church of Rome possessed by her location in the empire city of the world, thereby

CANON 7.

(154) Quoniam obtinuit consuetudo et antiqua traditio, ut qui est in Aelia episcopus honoretur; habeat honoris consequentiam; metropoli propria dignitate servata. ib. p. 673.

giving the Church of Rome a real primacy of influence, was doubtless not only understood by her rulers, but by the other portions of the Catholic Church; and its tendency towards a far stronger and more lofty kind of pre-eminence was perhaps sufficiently manifest to excite a natural apprehension in the patriarchs of the other provinces. With this clue, it is easy to see why such a Canon should be proposed and passed in this famous Council: and thus understood, it was a measure of wise and necessary precaution. (155)

But let us look at its provisions. 'Let the ancient customs be kept in Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis, that the

(155) I am sorry to be obliged, here, to notice one of those cases in which your writers have thought it expedient to make authority when they could find none. This Canon is found in many of your books very differently expressed. As for example in the Codex of the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of Rome, in the appendix to the works of Leo the great, we read the Canon in question under a different number, and with these words: 'Ecclesia Romana semper habeat primatum.' i. e. 'Let the Roman Church always have the primacy,' after which follows the rest.

Now the learned editor Quesnel, one of your own most zealous men, admits, in the note to this Canon, that the words in question are 'doubted by some.' And he states honestly that they are 'neither in the Greek text, nor were they found in any other version, nor in the subsequent Roman Code of Dionysius. So that it cannot be doubted that they either crept from the margin into the text, or were added by the clergy or others of the Roman Church, lest the Holy Fathers might seem forgetful of the Roman dignity.' The words of the author are added for your greater satisfaction.

'An verò verba hæc: Romana Ecclesia semper primatum habuit vel habeat: partem Canonis constituent, an titulum, in dubium a nonnullis vocatur. Litem, ni fallor, dirimunt Codices MSS. in quibus et suus titulus ab his verbis distinctus canonis tribuitur, et hæc canonem ipsum, ut pars ordiuntur: Ut pars, inquam, sed adjectitia: quæ videlicet nec in ipso posteriori Codice Romano Dionysii reperitur: ut dubium non sit vel eam ex margine irrepsisse in textum, vel a Romanæ Ecclesiæ clericis aliisve esse additam, ne Romanæ dignitatis obliti esse SS. Patres viderentur.' Leonis Mag. opp. om. Tom. 2. p. 13.

bishop of Alexandria may have power over all these, forasmuch as this is the custom also with the bishop of Rome.' Is there any subordination here of Alexandria to Rome? Is there any recognition of Roman prerogative over Alexandria? Plainly not, but the contrary. As custom had given the bishop of Rome power over the Churches of the province of Italy, so custom had given to the bishop of Alexandria power over the Churches of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis. The one power is manifestly compared to the other power, the one custom to the other custom. 'In like manner,' continues the Canon, 'let the privileges, the dignities and the authority of the Churches in Antioch and the other provinces be preserved.' Why so? What was

You are probably accustomed, brethren, to read this Canon with this addition: but many of you are aware, and all of you ought to be aware, that it is no part of the actual work of the Nicene Council. The words as I have taken them, and from which I shall support my reasoning, are copied verbatim from your own collection of the Councils, and when I deny the authority of the unwarrantable addition made to the real Canon, I shew you that I am borne out by the acknowledgment of your own most competent and candid men.

But this is not the only place in which the Church of Rome has made additions to the Nicene Canons. The right of appeal to the Roman bishop, [p. 15. 16. Can. 30. 31. and 34.] belongs to the same class. And the whole of this subject calls for the acknowledgment of the same Quesnel, where in his preface, p. xi. he states that the discipline of the Roman Church led her to *reject some of the oriental Canons and to change others, in order to accommodate them to her own use.* 'Prætereà antiqua Romanæ Ecclesiæ disciplina ex ista versione [sc. Isidori] innotescit, dum aliquos Canones Orientales ab ea rejectos docet, alios mutatos suoque accommodatos usui: quod ex Dionysii versione obscurum manet, quippe qui Canones ad fidem Græci textus transtulit, non habita ratione receptæ ab Ecclesia Romana disciplinæ.' How does this acknowledgment agree with the claim of infallibility set up for the decrees of this famous Council, upon the one hand; and how does it accord with the confidence demanded in the good faith of your traditions on the other?

threatening them? Men do not usually say, 'let a thing be preserved,' unless there is danger. Why did not the Council of Nice manifest the same solicitude for the dignity and the authority of the Church in Rome? Why, in providing for all the other provinces, did they not put in some clause saving the rights and privileges of the Apostolic See? Ah! brethren, it is easy to understand why this famous Canon extended a shield of protection over the rest of the Catholic Church, and left Rome to take care of herself. There was no lack of strength in that quarter, but rather the manifestation of undue vigor, which then, indeed, only shewed the proportions of the infant Hercules, but reached a marvellous maturity in due time.

There is a second feature in this Canon, however, worthy of great attention. The authority of the bishop of Rome is attributed, like that of the bishop of Alexandria, to *custom*. Where was the chair of Peter—the keys of the kingdom of heaven—the Vicarship of Christ—the authority, not of a mere man, but of God upon the earth, according to your present Canon law—when the fathers of the Council of Nice drew up this decree? Alas! brethren, these holy men knew nothing of this sublime fabric of divine authority. They knew not that they were all built on the foundation of that one diocese, and that they owed the reverence of children to the mother and mistress Church of Rome.

A third point of no small importance meets us in the latter part of this Canon, namely, that no one should be made bishop without the consent of his proper metropolitan. But your Canon law says that 'the translation, the deposition or resignation of a bishop, is reserved to the Roman pontiff alone, not so much by any canonical constitution as by the divine institution.' And again: 'As the translation, the deposition, and resignation of bishops, so likewise the con-

firmation of those who are elected, after their election, is reserved to the Roman pontiff alone, by reason of the spiritual bond.' How is it, brethren, that the Council recognized nothing of all this? How is it that they allowed no confirmation or consent whatever to supersede the claims of the proper metropolitan, totally ignorant that the bishop of Rome was the fountain of all ecclesiastical authority, having derived from the hand of Christ himself, through the person of Peter, **THE PLENITUDE OF POWER?**

The same principle meets us under another form, in the seventh canon, which the Council of Nice passed in favor of the bishop of Jerusalem. 'Since an ancient tradition and custom has obtained, that he who is bishop in Jerusalem should be honored,' saith this canon, 'let him have the fruits of this honor, the proper dignity of the metropolis being preserved.' Of course, brethren, you are aware that the metropolis of Jerusalem was Cesarea; and frequent were the disputes which afterwards arose between the rights of the metropolitan and the honor of Jerusalem. But here, as in the other canon, we see the Council referring to custom and ancient tradition, desirous to prevent encroachment, and altogether silent with respect to Rome.

I proceed to some other canons of this celebrated Council, in order to establish my assertion, that while you claim such infallible authority for its decrees, yet your own Church does not even professedly observe them.

Thus the fifth canon is in these words: (156) 'Concerning those who are separated from the communion, whether they

(156) *De iis qui a communione segregati sunt, sive clericorum sive laicorum sint ordinis, ab episcopis, qui sunt in unaquaque provincia, valeat sententia secundum canonem, qui pronunciat eos, qui ab aliis ejecti sunt, non esse ab aliis admittendos: examinetur autem, numquid vel pusillanimitate, vel contentione, vel aliqua ejusmodi episcopi acerbitate,*

be of the clerical order or of the laity, by the bishops of each province, let their sentences stand good, according to the canon which declares that those who are ejected by some are not to be admitted by others: but it may be examined whether they have been expelled from the congregation, by the pusillanimity, or by the contention, or by any severity of the bishop concerned. And in order that this examination may be conveniently made, it is expedient, that there should be a council in each province twice in every year: that when all the bishops of the province are together, these questions may be settled; and thus those whom their bishop happens to have displeased, may be seen by all to have been justly separated from the congregation, until it may seem right to the Council of bishops to decree a milder sentence. And one of these Councils shall be held before Lent, in order that all stains may be cleansed from the mind, and a pure offering be made unto God,' (sc. at Easter) 'and the second shall be held in autumn.'

The twelfth canon is as follows: (157) 'Those who have been called by grace, and have manifested their first ardour, and have laid aside their girdles, and returned, afterwards, like

congregatione pulsi sint. Ut hoc ergo convenientem examinationem accipiat, recte habere visum est, ut singulis annis in unaquaque provincia bis in anno synodo fiant: ut cum omnes provinciæ episcopi in eundem locum communiter conveniant, ejusmodi quaestiones examinentur; et sic quos episcopum offendisse constiterit, juste esse a congregatione separati apud omnes videantur, donec episcoporum congregationi videatur, pro iis humaniorem proferre sententiam. Synodi autem fiant, una quidem ante quadragesimam, ut omnibus animi sordibus sublatis, purum munus Deo offeratur: Secunda autem autumnii tempore. Mansi Concil. Tom. 2. p. 669.

12.

(157) Qui autem a gratia quidem evocati, et primum suum ardorem ostent derunt, et cingula deposuerunt, postea autem ut canes ad suum vomitum reversi sunt, &c. hi decem annis prosternantur supplices, etiam post

dogs to their vomit,' &c. 'Let these be prostrate suppliants for ten years, and afterwards hearers for three years. But in all these cases the ground and appearance of the penitence should be examined. For those who with fear, and tears, and patience, and good works, exhibit a conversion in deed, and not in appearance only, should deservedly have communion in the prayers when the above mentioned period of hearing is fulfilled: besides which it may be lawful for their bishops to establish something more indulgent respecting them. But as for those who do not feel their condition so seriously, nor think it of much consequence whether their privileges are restored, but that it is enough for their conversion to enter the Churches, let them fulfil the whole time appointed.'

And the 20th canon regulates a point of form in public worship, in these words: 'Since there are some who bend their knees on the Lord's day and on the days of Pentecost: in order that all things may be observed alike in all places, the holy Council has decreed that those devotions should be performed standing.' (158)

Now here, brethren, permit me to remind you, that the authority of a general Council, according to your Canon

triennii auditionis tempus. In his autem omnibus examinare convenit consilium et speciem poenitentiae. Quicumque enim et metu, et lachrymis, et tolerantia, et bonis operibus conversionem et opere et habitu ostendunt, hi impleto auditionis tempore quod praefinitum est, merito orationum communionem habebunt, cum eo quod liceat etiam episcopo humanius aliquod de eis statuere. Quicumque autem non adeo graviter tulerunt, nec multum sua referre existimarunt, satisque esse putarunt in ecclesias ingredi ad conversionem, tempus omnino impleant.'

(158) 'Quoniam sunt quidam in die Dominico genua flectentes, et in diebus pentecostes: ut omnia in universis locis consonanter observentur, placuit sancto Concilio, stantes Domino vota persolvere.' Hard. Con. Tom. 1. p. 331.

law, is the same with the authority of the Scripture and the Holy Spirit, because it represents the whole Church, and the same Holy Spirit who dictated the Scriptures, also dictates its decrees. Your Doway Catechism, speaking to the same point, declares that the definitions of a general Council approved by the pope, are the dictates of the Holy Ghost, according to that of the apostles, 'It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.'

But here is the first general Council, approved by the pope, and by the whole Christian world, passing many important canons, which even among yourselves, notwithstanding their infallible and supreme authority, were soon considered a dead letter.

For I beseech you, how do you regard the rights and privileges of the Churches of Alexandria, Egypt, Antioch, and Jerusalem, which the Council of Nice was so careful to protect and preserve?

How do you regard the canon providing for the yearly holding of two provincial synods, in which the judgment of each bishop might be rectified by his brethren?

How do you reconcile with this your present canon, which, instead of preserving the primitive course marked out by the Nicene Council, refers all the judgments of the bishops to the pope?

How do you observe the Nicene canon commanding so many years of penitence and good works before great offenders could be restored to the communion?

And how have you obeyed the 20th canon, which censures the custom of kneeling on the Lord's day, and at Easter; and directs standing as being, at those times, the proper posture? Indeed this last canon is worthy of more than a passing remark; because you know, I presume, that the Church of Rome pursued the very course which the

canon censured in saying: 'There are *some* who bend their knees on the Lord's day,' &c. And you know, also, that the Church of Rome disregarded this decree of the Council, and continues her own custom until the present hour. Here, then, you perceive two facts, well deserving your attention. First, you see how little the Council regarded the custom of the Church of Rome. And secondly, you see how little the Church of Rome regarded the decree of the Council.

It results, then, brethren, that although you call this Council infallible, and rank its decrees with the Word of God and the dictates of the Holy Ghost, yet, on all the canons which I have cited, the practice of your Church stands in opposition to her theory.

I am aware that you will reply by stating your favorite distinction between matters of faith and discipline, and you may say that you do not hold a General Council to be an infallible director, unless in matters of faith alone. But it may be worth your while to ask, on what basis you rest this allegation.

Certainly not on the Scriptures, for the very instance referred to in your Doway Catechism, when the apostles passed their decree saying: 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' was altogether respecting what you would call discipline, and totally irrespective of faith. If the Holy Spirit dictated decrees of discipline in this apostolic council, and if, as you say, this council is your great authority for all subsequent councils, why, I beseech you, do you now decide, that matters of discipline are not determined by his divine agency, but matters of faith alone?

Neither do you ground this distinction on the authority of the fathers, for none of the early fathers claim infallibility for the decrees of a General Council, except on the foun-

dation of their Scriptural correctness: and whatever obedience was rendered by the primitive Church to the decrees of the Council in point of faith, was equally expected in point of discipline.

Neither can you support this distinction on the ground of reason. For although there is an inherent superiority in the propositions which concern faith, over those which concern discipline, since the subjects of the first are in their own nature immutable, while the subjects of the second may be, and often have been changed, yet this truth has no relation to the question whether the Holy Spirit has dictated them. You may indeed say, and say most truly, that the principles of the faith are propositions concerning the nature, the attributes, and the purposes of God, in reference to man's redemption, together with the merciful execution of those purposes, as set forth in the mission of Christ and the system of his gospel; that these were the same in substance, from the beginning, and, in their own nature, could not admit of change. Hence, the pious Abel was an example of the same faith which was professed by St. Paul. While on the other hand, the discipline directed for the Church in the patriarchal age, differed from the Mosaic economy, and this again, differed from the discipline established by the apostles for the Christian dispensation, strictly so called; and therefore we have the same substantial faith, in connexion with many forms of discipline. This is all plain and incontrovertible, but it does not warrant your inference from it. For, I beseech you, were not all these forms of discipline the dictates of the Holy Spirit, at the time they were established, and were they not binding, as such, until the authority of the same Spirit sanctioned a change? Was not the discipline of the Mosaic economy given under the solemn obligation of 'Thus saith the Lord?' And was it not bind-

ing until it was superseded by another discipline, which was in its turn put forth under the very same authority. 'It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us?' Yea, was there ever a period within the whole course of the Scripture history, in which the Holy Ghost was ready to dictate to his Church in matters of faith, but abandoned it to itself, in matters of discipline? Or was there ever a Council which claimed to itself any greater measure of inspiration in one part of its deliberations, than it claimed in all?

The truth is, brethren, that just as we see the creative power of God ready to manifest itself not only in the formation of the angels and archangels, but also in the minute organization of the smallest insect—just as the same divine energy which binds the planets in their orbits, condescends to notice the fall of the sparrow to the ground, and clothes even the lilies of the field, and the grass 'which to day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven'—even so does the Holy Spirit who dictates the principles of faith, dictate likewise every thing connected with that faith, in its lowest and apparently least important particular. There can be no Church without faith, therefore faith is essential. But neither can a Church exist as a visible society without discipline; for we agree that the ministry and the sacraments are essential to the existence of the visible Church on earth, and yet these are matters of discipline, at least in their details, and are therefore not embraced in the creed of the Council of Nice, nor in any of the earlier symbols. But are not the ministry and the sacraments as truly ordained by Christ and the Holy Spirit, as any other branch of the divine system? And does not the great Apostle, when regulating many minor points of discipline in the Corinthian Church, expressly claim the authority of the Saviour, by declaring, 'If any man among you think himself to be a prophet or spiritual,

let him acknowledge what I say to be the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ? Surely, then, your proposition, that in decrees touching faith, a general Council is infallibly directed by the Holy Spirit, but that in decrees touching discipline, it is liable to error, stands utterly unsustained by any Scriptural authority, or by any reason drawn from Scripture, or from the analogy of the other works of God: and therefore I must needs conclude that it is an hypothesis devised to meet the difficulty, in which your confessed departure from the strictness of the ancient discipline has involved your claims to immutability. That it was no part of the system of the primitive Church of Rome,—that there was no infallibility claimed for General Councils until long after the more important ones were holden, and no difference between their decrees except what rested on the authority of Scripture,—will plainly appear from the testimony of the fathers subsequent to the Nicene Council, and to these I shall now proceed.

CHAPTER XIX.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

I have said that the fathers of the age in which the Council of Nice was held, did not attribute any infallibility to it, nor did they speak of it in such terms as would at all comport with your canon law, where it ascribes to General Councils 'the same authority as the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit.' In proof of this assertion, let us turn to the next witness in the order of chronology, viz. the celebrated Athanasius; who himself assisted at that Council, and was afterwards bishop of Alexandria. You know, brethren, that his name stands at the highest point of estimation, being, indeed, the most distinguished on the very subject for the decision of which the Council of Nice was called. His works may be set down to A. D. 327.

The greater part of this authors' labors were devoted to sustaining the Council of Nice against the opposition of the Arians, and hence it is manifest, that if your present doctrine of General Councils had then been the doctrine of the Church, his writings would furnish abundant evidence in your favor. Instead of which, they display the plainest demonstration, as it seems to me, that Athanasius had never conceived such an idea. From his decretal epistle on the very subject itself, I shall extract several passages to shew that he defends the Council by Scripture and tradi-

tion, but never assumes the ground that its decisions were equal to Scripture, and dictated by the Holy Spirit. I cite for its greater convenience your own Latin version.

He commences his epistle by stating (158) that ‘the Arians being now condemned by all, presume to murmur after the manner of the Jews, demanding, truly, why the fathers who assembled at Nice, adopted the words essence and consubstantial, which words are not to be found in Scripture.’ He then proceeds to justify the doctrine of the council by Scripture at great length, and thus accounts for the adoption of the new terms.

(159) ‘The cause of it,’ (saith he) ‘was the following: When the council were occupied in taking away the impi-

(158) Epist. Decret. de Synod. Nic. Op. om. S. Athan. Ed. Col. 1686. Tom. 1. p. 243. ‘Ab omnibus condemnati, [sc. Ariani] etiam nunc quoque more Judæorum obmurmurare ausint, expostulantes scilicet, cur patres, qui Nicææ convenerant has voces, Essentiam et Consubstantialitatem, nusquam in sacris literis repertas, usurparint :

(159) Ibid. p. 267. ‘Causa autem hujusmodi fuit. Cum Synodus in hoc esset, ut Arianorum impia vocabula tolleret, et voces adhibere vellet, quæ sine controversia sacrarum literarum essent, nimirum eum filium esse, et nequaquam ex non entibus esse, sed ex Deo : eumque et verbum esse, et sapientiam, et nequaquam creaturam aut facturam, sed germen proprium sui patris : Eusebiani pro inveterata sua et prava opinione volebant illud, ex Deo esse, commune esse, et ad homines quoque pertinere, neque quicquam Christum eo nomine a nobis differre, eo quod scriptum esset : *Unus Deus, ex quo omnia*, et rursum : *Vetera transierunt, ecce, nova facta sunt omnia : omnia vero ex Deo*. Ibi patres, animadversa illorum fraude et impietatis vafritie, coacti sunt clarioribus verbis exponere, quid sit ex Deo esse, et scribere, Filium ex substantia Dei esse, ne ex Deo esse, et commune, et æque ad filium et creaturam pertinere existimaretur ; cætera igitur omnia creaturas dixere, excepto Verbo, quod solum ex Patre genitum esse crediderunt, et cætera quoque ex Deo esse, veram non eadem ratione, qua Filius.’
 — ‘Certe cum Paulus omnia dixisset ex Deo esse, statim subintulit : *Et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia* : ut omnibus ostenderet, Filium esse alium a cæteris rebus a Deo creatis.’ — ‘Ideo enim Sacrosancta Synodus liquidius dixit, eum ex substantia Patriæ esse, &c.

ous language of the Arians, and desired to avail themselves of those phrases which were allowed to be Scriptural, namely, that Christ was the Son, that he did not come from nonexistence but from God, that he was the Word, and the Wisdom of God, and by no means a creature, or made, but the proper offspring of the Father: the Eusebians, exhibiting their inveterate and wicked opinion, wished it to be understood that Christ's being of God was common to mankind, and that in this respect he differed nothing from ourselves, inasmuch as it was written: '*One God, from whom are all things,*' and again: '*Old things have passed away, behold all things are made new: and all things are of God.*' Then the fathers, observing their fraud and impious subtlety, WERE CONSTRAINED to express in clearer words what it was to be from God, and to write that the Son was of the substance of God, lest it might be taught that the being from God was common, and equally belonging to the Son and to the creatures: therefore they said that all others were creatures, except the Word, who alone they believed was generated from the Father, and the rest were also indeed from God, but not in like manner as the Son.'—'For certainly, when Paul saith that all things are of God, he immediately adds: *And one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things:* that he might shew to all that the Son was distinct from all other things which were created by the Deity.' — 'Here the Holy Synod said more clearly, that he was consubstantial with the Father.' &c. How very different, brethren, is this style of defence from your doctrine. How much more short and simple would Athanasius' argument appear if he could have said: All General Councils are infallible, because their decrees are dictated by the Holy Ghost, and are equal to Scripture. The Council of Nice

was a General Council, and therefore the controversy is settled by its decision.

Again, however, he repeats substantially his former justification in these words: (160) 'Assuredly I should not deny that the signs and symbols of truth are expressed with *more perfection* in the language of the holy Scriptures than in any other: but the malignity and cunning impiety of the Eusebians compelled the bishops, as I before said, to use clearer words in order to subvert their impiety. Nevertheless it is sufficiently demonstrated and appears plainly, that the writings of the council contain the true opinion.' &c. It is not necessary, brethren, to remind you, that the Eusebius whose followers are here spoken of, was Eusebius of Nicomedia, and not Eusebius of Cesarea, the historian.

Again, in his treatise concerning the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, Athanasius speaks thus of the Nicene fathers: (161) 'They did not write concerning the faith, It appears so: but, This is the faith of the Catholic Church; and immediately their confession of faith is added, that they might shew that it was not a new opinion, but apostolic: and that the things which they had written were not their inventions, but apostolic documents.'

Proceeding to shew his reverence for Scripture, he cen-

(160) Ibid. p. 252. 'Certe id æquum esse nec ego abnuerim, eo quod signa indiciaque veritatis perfectiora ex scripturis sanctis, quam aliunde, depromantur: sed malignitas et versipellis Eusebianorum impietas episcopos cœgit, quemadmodum dixi, ut clarioribus verbis uterentur ad eorum impietatem subvertendam. Sed tamen satis demonstratum est, et liquide apparet, scripta Synodi rectam sententiam continere,' &c

(161) Ibid. p. 273. De fide vero non scripserunt, visum est, sed ad istum modum credit Catholica Ecclesia, et statim confessio ipsa credendi adjuncta est, ut ostenderent, eam non novam esse sententiam sed apostolicam: et quæ ipsi scripsissent, non esse sua inventa, sed Apostolorum documenta.

asures the mania which existed for holding councils, and says: (162) 'In vain therefore they (the Arians) run to and fro, pretending that they are asking Councils concerning the faith, when the divine Scripture is more powerful than all.'

And in his epistle to the African bishops, he adduces another argument derived from tradition, in favour of the word consubstantial employed by the Nicene fathers. (163) 'We know certain learned and famous bishops among the ancients,' saith he, 'and other writers, who used the word consubstantial, when speaking of the deity of the Father and the Son.'

And again, he saith, (164) 'With this understanding, truly, the fathers of the Nicene Council wrote that the Son was consubstantial with the Father, and they pronounced an anathema against those who should say that the Son was of any other substance. Nor did they establish those words for themselves on that occasion, but they learned them from the fathers who were before them, as we said already.' Now in these passages Athanasius gives us no intimation whatever of the Holy Spirit dictating the decrees of the Council, but plainly asserts the contrary; for surely, brethren, it needs no argument to show, that the language of inspiration would not be defended by a recurrence to Scripture and tradition.

(162) Ibid. Frustra igitur circumcursitantes prætexunt, ob fidem synodos sese postulare, cum sit divina scriptura omnibus potentior.

(163) Ibid. 937. 'Novimus quosdam ex priscis eruditos et præclaros antistites, aliosque scriptores, cum de patris et filii deitate loquerentur voce consubstantialitatis usos esse.

(164) Ibid. 939. 'Hoc intellectu videlicet, scripserunt patres Niceni Concilii, filium patri consubstantialem esse, eosque anathemate damnarunt, qui dicerent, ex alia substantia esse filium. Neque hac in parte sibi ista vocabula finxerunt, sed a patribus, qui ante fuerunt, ea didicerunt, quemadmodum diximus.

To shew the contrariety, however, more clearly, it may be expedient to place your doctrine and that of Athanasius side by side.

You say that the authority of a General Council, such as the Council of Nice, is *the same as the authority of Scripture*.

But Athanasius says *the Scripture is more powerful than all*.

You say that *the Holy Spirit dictated its decrees*.

But Athanasius says that the fathers were compelled by the Arian subtlety to adopt words *which they learned from those that were before them*.

You refer your faith to the decrees of the Council, calling it infallible.

But Athanasius refers his faith only to the word of God, says not one word of this infallibility, and treats the Council's decision as being correct, solely because *it was truly warranted by the Scriptures*.

I trust that the testimony of this most unexceptionable witness is sufficient to justify the assertion, that your doctrine on the inspiration and infallibility of General Councils was not the doctrine of your Church, at his day. His testimony on the other points of your claims to supremacy, shall be presented in our next chapter.

CHAPTER XX.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

I proceed to notice a few other passages in the works of the celebrated Athanasius, in which his ideas of the Church Catholic will be easily discerned.

In his Apology, addressed to the Emperor Constantius, Athanasius states his coming to Rome, and having his cause laid before the Council there, in order to justify himself from the false accusations of his Arian enemies, in the following words.

(165) ‘ And these things, truly, the Egyptians communicated to all the bishops, and to the Roman bishop Julius. Wherefore the Eusebians sent letters to Julius, and in order to frighten us, *ordered a Council to be called, and referred the arbitration of the case to Julius himself, if he was willing.* When, therefore, we had come to Rome, Julius immediately wrote to the Eusebians, by two of his presbyters Elpidius and Philoxenes : but they, when they heard of our

(165) St. Athan. ad Imperat. Constant. Apol. Op. om. 1. 739.

‘ Haec Ægyptii ad omnes et ad episcopum Romanum Julium scripsere. Quin et Eusebiani ad Julium literas misere, et ut nos terrerent, *Synodum jusserunt convocari, et ipsi Julio, si vellet, arbitrium cause detulerunt.* Cum igitur Romam pervenissemus, Julius continuo ad Eusebianos literas scripsit, missis eo duobus ex suis presbyteris Elpidio et Philoxeno : illi verò, ubi nostram Romae praesentiam audivissent, plurimum conturbati sunt, quod contra spem eorum me Romam con-

presence at Rome, were greatly troubled, because, *contrary to their hopes, I had betaken myself to Rome.* Their journey therefore being given up, they devised sundry idle and vain pretences, because they were greatly alarmed lest the same crimes which Valens and Ursacius had confessed, should be laid to their charge also. Then the presbyter Vito brought more than fifty bishops into council, where our defence was allowed, and they confirmed their communion and love towards us, and were very indignant against the Eusebians, to whom, as he had received letters from them, *they ordered Julius* to write again. Julius wrote accordingly, and sent the letter by Count Gabianus.'

There are two or three points in this passage to which I beg leave to direct your attention.

Your canon law grants an appellate jurisdiction to the bishop of Rome in all ecclesiastical causes, by divine right. But the Arians, saith Athanasius, *ordered a Council to be called*, and referred the cause to the arbitrement of Julius, *if he was willing.* He also says, that his going to Rome alarmed his adversaries, since they had hoped to terrify him from that measure, by their bold and confident course. He adds that the Council *ordered Julius to write*, who wrote accordingly. Now all of this is inconsistent with your canon law. For if the bishop of Rome was then acknowledged to be the appellate Judge, by divine right, of all eccle-

tulisse. Rejecto igitur itinere, futes inanesque tergiversando causificationes commentae sunt, eo quod ingenti metu retinebantur, ne de hisdem criminibus, quae Valens et Ursacius confessi erant, ipsi quoque convincerentur. Presbyter deinde Vito plures episcopos, quam quinquaginta, in concilium adduxit, ubi et nostra defensio recepta fuit, et confirmarunt in nos communionem et charitatem: magnaue indignatio exorta est contra Eusebianos, quibus Julium, cum ab eis literas acceperat, rescribere jusserunt. Scripsit igitur Julius, et misit literas per Gabianum Comitem

siastical causes, Athanasius should have been cited before him. The Arians could not have offered to make him *Arbitrator*, if he was willing, because he was already the Judge by virtue of his office. Nor would it have been right or fitting to call a Council of more than fifty bishops to hear Athanasius, when the right of decision lay with the 'Vicar of Christ,' alone. Lastly, most incongruous of all would it seem, that this Council should *order* Julius to write, when, instead of a letter of paternal remonstrance, it belonged to him to pronounce a binding and authoritative decree.

The letter of Julius, written in consequence, is a letter of frank but kindly expostulation throughout. He claims no superior rights, pronounces no official judgment, but argues with them on the Apostolical canons, on the common custom of the Church, and on the principles of the Gospel. The Arians had thrust out Athanasius from his diocese, and had violently brought Georgius with the aid of a military force into his place: the consequence of which had been shameful tumults and outrages. Yet in a case so flagrant, mark the language of Julius. (166) 'Where is there any ecclesiastical canon or apostolical tradition of this sort? That while the Church was in peace, and the bishops were in agreement with Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria, Georgius should be sent in, who was a stranger and a foreigner, neither baptized at Alexandria nor known to the people, nor

(166) Ibid. p. 748—9. 'Ubi enim est istiusmodi ecclesiasticus canon, aut istiusmodi traditio apostolica? Ut in pace agenti ecclesia, et episcopis concordibus cum episcopo Alexandriae Athanasio immittere Georgium peregrinum et externum hominem, neque Alexandriae baptizatum neque plebi cognitum, neque postulatum a presbyteris, eumque Antiochiæ creare episcopum, atque inde deducere Alexandriam, non cum presbyteris aut diaconis civitatis, non cum episcopis Ægypti, sed cum militibus? Hæc enim dixere et conquesti sunt, qui huc venerunt:

asked for by the presbyters, that he should be made a bishop at Antioch, and from thence be brought to Alexandria, not with the presbyters or the deacons of the city, nor with the bishops of Egypt, but with soldiers? For such is the assertion and complaint of those who have come here. If, truly, even after a Council, Athanasius had been found guilty of any wrong, it would not have been fitting to create a new bishop so illegally, and in a manner so contrary to the ecclesiastical canon, but the bishop of the province should have constituted him in the Church itself, and from the sacerdotal order, and from the clergy itself, and by no means to have violated at this time the canons of the Apostles. Come now, if the same conduct had been held towards any of yourselves, would you not have loudly exclaimed against it? Would you not have demanded that the violated canons should be sustained? Believe us, beloved, we speak truly as in the presence of God. This deed is not done piously, nor lawfully, nor ecclesiastically.'

This epistle, however, brethren, is the more interesting because it proves the gradual advancement towards the primacy, which was yet far from being established. For near the close, Julius uses this language.

(167) 'Therefore inform us more accurately, beloved

si enim post Synodum in culpa fuisset deprehensus Athanasius, non tamen oportuit creationem novi episcopi ita illegaliter et præter canonem ecclesiasticum fieri, sed in ipsa ecclesia, et ex ipso sacerdotali ordine, et ex ipso clero illum ab episcopis provinciæ constitui oportuit, et nequaquam nunc Apostolorum Canones violari. Age, si in quemquam vestrum id commissum esset, nome vociferaturi essetis? Nonne vindictam, quasi violatis canonibus, postulaturi fuissetis? Dilecti credite, tanquam Deo præsentem, cum veritate loquimur. Non est istud pie factum, non ex jure, non ecclesiastice.

(167) Ibid. p. 753. 'Certiores igitur nos, dilectissimi, de ea re facite, quo et illis scribamus, et cæteris item episcopis, qui huc debent con-

brethren, concerning this matter, by which we may write to them, and to the other bishops, who ought to assemble here, that before all, those who are guilty may be condemned, and there be no further trouble in the Church.'—'For if, as you say, they were guilty, judgment should have been given according to the canon, and not in this manner: *you should have written to us all, that so, by all, that which is just might be decreed.*'—'Why therefore in the first place did you write nothing to us on the subject of Alexandria? Are you ignorant that *the custom is first to write to us*, that hence, what is just might be established? On which account, if any suspicion arose against a bishop, it ought to be referred to our Church. But now, after they have done what they thought proper, these men wish to have us approve the condemnation of a bishop, at whose doings we were not present, and concerning which we were not informed. Not such were the ordinations of Paul, not thus did the fathers teach, but this is truly a different example, and a new institution.'

Here we see, plainly, a claim set up for the Church of Rome to be first informed of what is amiss, that justice may

venire, ut coram omnibus, qui culpæ obnoxii sunt, condemnentur, et ne ulterius perturbatio in ecclesia fiat.'

'Nam si ut dicitis, omnino in culpa fuerunt, oportuit secundum canonem, et non isto modo judicium fieri: oportuit scribere omnibus nobis, ut ita ab omnibus, quod justum esset, decerneretur.'

'Cur igitur, in primis de Alexandrina civitate nihil nobis scribere voluistis? an ignari estis hanc consuetudinem esse, ut primum nobis scribatur, ut hinc, quod justum est, definiri posset? Quapropter si isthic hujusmodi suspicio in episcopum concepta fuerat, id huc ad nostram ecclesiam referri oportuit. Nunc autem nos, quos certiores minime fecerunt, postquam jam egerint quod libuit, suffragatores suae damnationis, cui non interfuimus esse volunt. Non ita se habent Pauli ordinationes, non ita Patres docuerunt, sed aliud exemplum et novum est institutum.'

be done. But observe, first, brethren, that Julius contemplates the action of a Council. 'You should have written to us all,' saith he, 'that *so, by all, that which is just might be decreed.*' In the second place, this giving information to the Church of Rome is put on the score of custom. '*Are you ignorant,*' saith Julius, '*that this is the custom,*' and not one word is to be found that looks like a claim by divine right. Thirdly, here is no personal authority, for Julius himself as the vicegerent of Christ, the chief ruler and governor of the whole Church, &c. according to your present system. So that the whole case of Athanasius, to my mind, presents a complete demonstration of our proposition, and proves that the Primitive Church of Rome, even so far down as the middle of the fourth Century, held no such doctrine as her successor holds at the present day.

CHAPTER XXI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

We may not in justice dismiss the testimony of Athanasius until we see the course by which he was restored to his diocese, which will shew us, still more plainly, the polity of the Church in the fourth Century.

Pursuing the narrative of this eminent man, we find that the council of Rome, and the letter written on their part by Julius, produced no result. (168) 'When the Roman Council, continues Athanasius,' 'had written thus by Julius the bishop of Rome, the Eusebians again, with wicked audacity, laid snares for the troubling of the Churches. And when this was made known to the most religious emperors, Constantius and Constans, the bishops of the east and west were ordered to assemble at Sardis.'

In obedience to this imperial command, an immense number of bishops assembled, from Spain, Italy, Gaul, Africa, Egypt, Cyprus, Palestine, Phrygia, Isauria, the names of whom Athanasius has for the most part set down, and computes the whole at three hundred and forty-four. From the

(168) Ibid. p. 754. 'Hæc cum Romæ Synodus per Julium Romanum Episcopum scripsisset, improba iterum audacia Eusebiani in Ecclesiis perturbandis, insidiisque tendendis usi sunt.' Quod cum rescitum esset ab religiosissimis Imperatoribus, Constantio et Constante, jussi sunt episcopi orientis et occidentis, Sardim convenire.'

Synodical epistle of this celebrated Council, I extract one sentence at the beginning, shewing that it was convened by the emperors, and another near the close, referring to Athanasius. After premising a statement of the troubles which had taken place, and the fruitless effort of Julius and his brethren in the Council of Rome to appease them, they proceed to say :

(169) ‘ On which account, the grace of God co-operating, our most religious Princes called us together from divers provinces and cities, desiring that a holy council should convene in the city of Sardis, by which every controversy might be cut off.’

And after setting forth the conduct of the Arians at length, and the violent expulsion of the orthodox bishops, especially Athanasius, they say :

(170) ‘ Therefore we pronounce our beloved brethren and fellow ministers, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, and the rest who serve God with them and us, innocent and pure, letters being sent to all the dioceses, that the people of each Church may know the sincerity of their bishop.’

The subscriptions follow, from which we find that Hosius of Spain presided, and signed first ; and Julius of Rome by his presbyters Archidamus and Philoxenus, signed after him. (171)

(169) Ibid. 760—1. ‘ Quapropter, cooperante Dei gratia, religiosissimi principes nos ex diversis provinciis et civitatibus in unum convocaverunt, cupientes, ut sancta synodus in Sardorum civitatem conveniret, quo omnis controversia præcideretur.

(170) Ibid. 766. ‘ Ideo nos dilectos fratres et comministros nostros Athanasium, Marcellum, Aselepam et cæteros, qui cum illis Deo nobiscum serviunt, innocentes et puros pronunciamus, literis ad singulas paræcias missis, ut populi cujusque ecclesiæ cognoscant sui episcopi sinceritatem.’

(171) Ibid. 767. ‘ Hosius ab Hispania, Julius Romæ per Archidamum et Philoxenum presbyteros suos, Protogenes Sardicæ, &c.

A few other little matters may be noticed in connexion with this witness.

(172) The Emperor Constantine writes to him, calling him Pope. The same style of address, as you know, brethren, was used to all the primitive fathers, who were bishops. Why it has become restricted to the bishop of Rome for so many centuries, instead of being, as it once was, the common title of all the metropolitans, is a question which your doctrine of Supremacy must answer.

(173) Again, I remark an epistle addressed to sundry bishops by the presbyters and deacons under Athanasius, styling him the bishop of 'the Catholic Church of Alexandria.'

Again, I find the terms in which Liberius and Rome are spoken of, rather inconsistent with your doctrine. For Athanasius, in his epistle to the Hermits of Egypt, speaking of the persecuting spirit of the Arians, uses these words :

(174) 'Nor truly did they spare Liberius the Roman bishop, for they were led by no reverence, either because that was an apostolic See, or because Rome was the metropolis of the Roman power; nor did they remember that in their letters they had called them apostolic men: but confounding all together, they were equally forgetful of all, having no solicitude but for impiety alone.'

(172) 'Ibid. 785. 'Victor Constantinus Maximus, Augustus, Papæ Athanasio.'

(173) Ibid. 790. 'Theogno, Mari, Macedonio, Theodoro, Ursacio et Valenti Episcopis e Tyro profectis, presbyteri et diaconi sub reverendissimo Episcopo Athanasio, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Alexandriae.'

(174) Ibid. S. Athan. ad solit. vitam agentes epist. Op. om. 1. 832. 'Ne Liberio quidem Romano episcopo pepercerunt, nulla reverentia ducti, vel quod sedes illa Apostolica esset, vel quod Roma Metropolis esset Romanæ ditionis, neque recordati, se eos apostolicos viros in suis literis appellasse, sed omnia simul miscentes, æque omnium obliviscabantur, neque quicquam illis curæ, nisi sola impietas fuit.'

Compare this with the terms Athanasius uses with regard to Hosius: (175) 'Although they committed so many and so great iniquities, yet they thought they had done nothing, so long as that great man Hosius had not experienced their malice. For they studied to extend their rage towards even such as he; nor did they revere him as the father of the bishops, nor were they moved with shame on account of his being a confessor, nor did they regard his having discharged the episcopal office for more than sixty years: but despising all these considerations, they had their eyes intent only on their own heresy, truly regarding neither God nor man. Coming accordingly to Constantius, they address him in these words: We have done all things, we have driven into banishment the bishop of the Romans, and before him we had made exiles of many other bishops, we have filled every place with terror, nevertheless thy works are all vain, nor do we reckon that we have effected any thing, so long as Hosius is left. For while he acts among his followers, it seems as though all were acting in their Churches. He is

(175) Ibid. 837. 'Tantis ac talibus sceleribus factis, nihil omnino se adhuc fecisse arbitrabantur, quamdiu magnus ille Hosius eorum malitiam expertus non esset. Nam in eum talem tantumque virum, suam rabiem protendere studuerunt; neque quod pater esset episcoporum, reveriti sunt: neque quod confessor erat, pudore moti sunt, neque quod sexagesimum annum et eo amplius in episcopatu agebat, respexerunt, sed omnia simul vilipendentes, ad solam suam hæresin oculos intentos habuere, homines revera neque Deum timentes neque hominem verentes. Adorti igitur Constantium talibus verbis alloquantur, omnia quidem a nobis facta sunt, profligavimus in exilium Romanorum episcopum, et jam ante eum extorres fecimus quam plurimos episcopos, omnia loca terroribus implevimus, sed tamen pro nihilo sunt tantæ tua opera, neque quicquam profecimus, quamdiu reliquus est Hosius. Quamdiu enim ille in suis agit, omnes in suis ecclesiis agere videntur. Hic princeps est Synodorum, et si quid scribit, ubique auditur: hic formulam fidei in Nicena synodo concepit, et Arianos ubique pro hæreticis traduxit,' &c.

the prince of Councils, whatever he writes is heard of every where ; he composed the formulary in the Council of Nice, and continually traduces the Arians as heretics,' &c.

From the whole of which, brethren, the following deductions seem to my mind irresistible.

That the charge against Athanasius, which the Council of Rome, with Julius the bishop of Rome at their head, had not authority sufficient to settle, was settled by the Council of Sardis.

That this Council, like the Council of Nice, was convened, not by the bishop of Rome, but by the emperor.

That the bishop of Rome was present by his legates, Archidamus and Philoxenus, but the president of the Council was Hosius, the same who presided in the Council of Nice.

That the term pope was not restricted to the Roman bishop in the time of Athanasius; and the Catholic Church of Alexandria was the proper form of speech, not the *Roman Catholic Church of Alexandria*, as it would be set down at the present day.

That the regard paid to Rome was partly owing to its being an apostolic See, which reason applied to many Churches. But the other reason was of a secular character, since Athanasius censures the Arians for not respecting Rome, as *the metropolis of the Roman power*.

Lastly, the extraordinary esteem and reverence displayed towards the venerable Hosius, the father of bishops—the prince of Councils—while there is not a word upon the point of Julius or Liberius possessing the vicegerency of Christ, the authority of the true God; the seat of Peter, the office of chief ruler and governor, or any intimation which looks like your subsequent doctrine, leaves the result of Athanasius' evidence clear and decisive, as it seems to my mind, in demonstration of the change which I have undertaken to prove.

Perhaps, however, I ought not to close these extracts from Athanasius, without taking notice of the forgeries which have been palmed upon the world for some centuries under his name. Of these, two of the most impudent and bare-faced appear to have been intended, not only to supply the supposed deficiencies of this eminent father on the subject of the supremacy of Rome, but also to support the Roman additions to the canons of the Nicene Council. They purport to be a letter of Athanasius and the Egyptian bishops addressed to Marcus the pope, for fresh copies of the canons of this Council, on the ground that the Arians had burned all their copies, with the answer of the pope granting the request; and I doubt not that they were made to serve as important vouchers for those versions of the Nicene Council which differ so widely from the original Greek text. I subjoin a few extracts of these letters from the latin. I believe they are not extant in any other language.

(176) 'To the holy and venerable lord Marcus, pope of the apostolic dignity, of the holy and apostolic See, and of the Universal Church, Athanasius and all the bishops of Egypt send greeting.' Then presently we have this expression, 'by the authority of your holy See, which is the mother and head of all the churches.' (177)

The reply of the pope is framed according to the same model, being, no doubt, the work of the same hand.

(178) 'To the venerable lords my brethren, Athanasius

(176) Athan. Op. om. 2. 623. 'Domino sancto et apostolici culminis venerando Marco sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedis, atque universalis Ecclesiæ Papæ, Athanasius et universi Ægyptiorum Episcopi salutem.

(177) Ib Optamus, ut a vestrae sanctæ sedis Ecclesiæ autoritate, quæ est mater et caput omnium ecclesiarum.' &c.

(178) Ibid. 624. 'Dominis venerabilibus fratribus Athanasio, et universis Ægyptiorum Episcopis, Marcus sanctæ Romanæ apostolicæque sedis, et universalis Ecclesiæ Episcopus.'

and all the bishops of Egypt, Marcus, bishop of the holy apostolic and Roman See, and of the whole Church,' then we read of 'the Holy Roman Church which has always remained without spot, and, by the Providence of God, and through the help of the blessed apostle Peter, will always remain the same,' (179) and then we have the 'holy and apostolic Church, the mother of all the Churches of Christ, which, by the grace of God, is proved never to have wandered from the track of apostolic tradition.' (180)

You will do me the favour to recollect, brethren, that I have promised to take your own witnesses' statements, according to your own judgment of their authenticity. And it gives me pleasure to find the frank sincerity with which your eminent scholars unite in condemning these miserable forgeries; not always, perhaps, treating them with the severity they deserve, but shewing a determination to do substantial justice in a spirit equally creditable to them, as lovers of Christian antiquity, and friends of truth.

From your own scholars, therefore, I take my warrant for condemning these epistles. For thus your famous Cardinal Bellarmin speaks of them :

(181) 'Concerning the epistles of Athanasius to pope Marcus, and of pope Marcus to Athanasius, it appears, from the mere point of time, that these epistles are supposititious.'

And Nannius, the learned translator of Athanasius, pla-

(179) Ibid. 'Sancta Romana Ecclesia, quae semper immaculata mansit, et Domino providente, et beato Apostolo Petro operante, in futuro manebit,' &c.

(180) Ibid, 525. 'Haec sancta et Apostolica mater omnium Ecclesiarum Christi Ecclesia, quae per omnipotentis Dei gratiam a tramite Apostolicae traditionis nunquam errasse probatur,' &c.

(181) Elogia S. Athan. in Praefat. Op. om. 'De Epistolis Athanasii ad Marcum Papam, et Marci Papae ad Athanasium, constat ex ratione temporis, eas epistolas esse supposititias.'

ces them in the third class, of which he says: (182) 'In this third class, I have collected all the supposititious books, which I do not think to be the work of Athanasius.'

I shall waste neither your time nor my own, brethren, by commenting on this additional fraud upon the fathers. But I mention the fact as a matter of justice, not merely to Athanasius, but also to myself, and to you: to Athanasius, because these letters are no part of his testimony: to myself, because otherwise you might have supposed my quotations partial and unfair: and to you, partly lest you might overlook the mark of reprobation which your critics have affixed to these forgeries, and partly because it gives me real satisfaction to acknowledge such instances of candor. It only needs an extension of this candor, as it seems to me, to bring all our controversies to the point of concord and peace.

(182) Athan. op. om. Ep. Nuncupatoria. 'In tertiam [classem] relegavi omnes supposititios libros, quos Athanasii non puto.'

CHAPTER XXII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The next writer whom the order of time presents to us, is the eloquent Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, whose catechetical lectures are amongst the most interesting monuments of Christian antiquity. He flourished in the same century with Athanasius, and his works bear date about A. 345. From the latin version of your own learned Touttée, (except in a few places where I do not think him accurate, and which I have noted with the original for your greater satisfaction,) I proceed to extract the most important portions of his testimony in relation to St. Peter and the Catholic Church. Of the bishop or Church of Rome he says nothing: although, as we shall see, his subject would naturally have led him to mention them, had he held your doctrine.

The first passage in which I find him speaking of Peter, is in the following language. (183) 'The Lord is merciful, and prompt to pardon, but slow to avenge. No one, therefore,

(183) S. Cyril. Archiepis. Hierosol. Cap. 11. § 19. Ed. Paris. A. D. 1720. p. 31. 'Benignus est Dominus et ad condonandum promptus, tardus autem ad ulciscendum. Nemo igitur suam ipsius salutem desperet. Petrus Apostolorum *summus et princeps*, coram vili ancillula ter Dominum negavit, sed pœnitudine tactus flevit amarè,' &c. The original Greek does not warrant this translation of the learned Touttée. Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαίωτατος καὶ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων, strictly rendered, means no more than: 'Peter the *leader* [Coryphaeus] and *foremost* of

need despair of salvation. Peter, the leader and foreman of the apostles, denied the Lord thrice before a poor maid-servant, but touched by repentance, he wept bitterly.' &c.

Again, Cyril styles Peter, the 'foreman of the apostles, and the leading preacher of the Church.' (184) That is, the preacher who took the lead; inasmuch as he preached the first sermon to the Jews, and, as in the case of Cornelius, he also may be said to have preached the first discourse to the Gentiles.

Again, Cyril mentions Peter along with Paul in the following passages, where, arguing against the Jews, he contends for the superiority of the Christian over the Mosaic dispensation. (185) 'Be not ashamed of your apostles,' saith he, 'for they are not inferior to Moses and the prophets, but they are good amongst the good, and better than the good. Elias truly was taken into heaven, but Peter has the keys of the kingdom of heaven when he hears: *whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.* Elias was only taken up into heaven; but Paul was taken into heaven and into paradise, (for it was the apostles.' In themselves, these words do not import any jurisdiction or authority over others; whereas a chief and a prince are persons bearing *rule* and *dominion*. The difference is obvious, and is altogether necessary to be well noted, in order to understand the fathers rightly. I might add that there are two copies of this celebrated discourse of Cyril's extant, of which the second [see page 37. F.] has the same passage speaking of Peter, without any expletive whatever.

(184) Ib. p. 150. [Cat. xi. § iii.] 'Petrus apostolorum princeps et supremus Ecclesiae praeco,' another case of strong amplification, for the Greek has it: Πέτρος ὁ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χορηγῆτος κήρυξ, signifying: 'Peter the *foremost* or *foreman* of the apostles, and the *leading preacher* of the Church;' certainly a very different pair of titles from the *prince* of the apostles and the *supreme* preacher of the Church.

(185) Ib. Catechesis xiv. § 26. p. 218. 'Non te tuorum pudeat apostolorum, non sunt Moyse deteriores, nec prophetis inferiores, sed boni

becoming that the disciples of Christ should receive an increase of favor) where he *heard unspeakable words which it was not lawful for man to utter*. Paul descended again, not because he was unworthy to inhabit the third heaven, but in order that the excellent gifts he had received, should partake of his mortal lot, and that, after he had descended with an accession of honor, and had preached Christ, and had endured death for his master's sake, he might also receive the crown of martyrdom.' Here, although Cyril mentions St. Peter as having received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, yet he is contrasting him, not with the other apostles, but with Elias; and it is evident that on the whole, he expresses himself more fully and warmly in favor of the privileges of St. Paul.

Again, I find St. Peter mentioned in the relation of the defeat sustained at Rome by the magician Simon. (186) 'When his erroneous doctrine (Simon's) was diffusing itself more widely, that celebrated pair of men, Peter and Paul, the presidents of the Church, being arrived there, (i. e. at Rome) corrected the fault, and struck Simon with sudden death, at the moment that he was proudly exhibiting him-

sunt cum bonis, et bonis meliores. Nam Elias revera in cœlum assumptus est, at Petrus habet claves regni cœlorum, cum audierit: *Quæcumque solveris super terram, erunt soluta in cœlis*. Elias in cœlum duntaxat est sublatus; Paulus verò et in cœlum et in paradisum, (Decibat enim Jesu discipulos multiplicatam gratiam accipere) *audivit ineffabilia verba quæ non licet homini loqui*.' Descendit autem desursum Paulus, non quod tertii cœli habitatione indignus foret; sed ut perceptis humanam sortem superantibus donis, cumque honoris accessione descendens, cum Christum prædicasset, et mortem pro ipso toleravisset, martyrii quoque coronam adsequeretur.'

(186) Ib. Cat. vi. § 15. p. 96. 'Cum vero error se latius spargeret, vitium illud correxit egregium par virorum, Petrus et Paulus Ecclesiæ præsules illuc appulsi; Simonemquæ, illum videlicet opinione Deum, superbe se ostentantem subita morte perculerunt. Nam cum pollici-

self as if he thought he was a god. For Simon having promised that he would rise up on high into the air, and be borne through the air in a chariot of demons, these servants of God fell upon their knees, displaying that concord of which Jesus spake; *If two of you shall agree on any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them*: the weapon of this concord in prayer, being launched against the magician, they cast him down to the earth. Nor should this thing seem wonderful to you, although, indeed, it be in itself admirable, for Peter was he who carried the keys of heaven. Nothing wonderful truly: since Paul was he who was taken into paradise and the third heaven, and heard mysterious words which it was not lawful for man to utter.'

These passages contain the only statements which I have found in Cyril, capable of being interpreted in favor of your doctrine: and any intelligent mind can see how little they have to do with it. The strongest epithet applied to Peter—that of a president of the Church—is given to St. Paul in connexion with him. He is called a leader of the apostles—a foreman—a Coryphæus—but every one knows that these terms do not import *jurisdiction or dominion*, but simply a

tus esset Simon se sublimem in cœlos elatum iri, ac daemonum vehiculo sublatus per aëra ferretur, genibus provoluti servi Dei, concordiamque illam demonstrantes, de qua Jesus dixerat: *Si duo ex vobis concordaverint, de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet eis*: concordiae telo per precessionem adversus magum immisso, praecipitem ad terram dejecerunt. Neque tibi res illa mira videatur, tametsi alioqui admiranda: Petrus namque erat, is qui cœli claves circumferebat. Nihil quoque miri: Paulus enim erat, is qui in tertium cœlum atque in paradysum raptus erat, audieratque arcana verba quae non licet homini loqui.' It is a little strange that your learned translator should give us a different version here, from that which the former passages exhibited. *Πετρος και Παυλος παραγερόμενοι, οι της εκκλησίας προστάται*. Peter and Paul together are properly enough called presidents of the church, whereas Peter alone, when Cyril styled him only *πρωτοστάτης*, a term of much weaker signification, was called a prince.

certain precedency among *equals*. His having the keys of the kingdom of heaven is compared with Paul's being taken up into heaven; they are spoken of as being alike *personal* privileges, and there is nothing to warrant the inference that one was official, and designed to be transferred to successors, any more than the other. And there is not a word, in the last passage especially, where the defeat of Simon at Rome is mentioned, nor in any other part of Cyril's books, conveying the slightest allusion to St. Peter's having any government over the other apostles, or having established himself as bishop at Rome, or having contemplated the erection of one diocese, as a permanent superior over the rest of the Church.

But I proceed to make some other extracts from this writer, where it seems obvious to my mind that your doctrine could not have escaped some notice, had Cyril acknowledged it as a part of his system.

(187) 'Christ,' saith he, 'is the High Priest, having a priesthood not to be transferred: who neither began to be a priest in time, nor has he another successor to his pontificate.' Here there is nothing positively inconsistent with your doctrine, but yet it appears to me that the subject would naturally suggest the vicegerency of the pope, who bears the person and authority of the Redeemer; and who, though not the successor of Christ's pontificate, does nevertheless perform the same functions and claim the same powers, according to your system, which the successors of Christ, if he could have them, would properly exercise.

There is another short passage of Cyril, which has seemed

(187) Ib. Cat. x. § xiv. p. 143. 'Christus autem est summus sacerdos, non transferendum habens sacerdotium: qui neque in tempore sacerdos esse cœpit, neque alterum habet pontificatus sui successorem.'

to me worthy of some attention, on account of its indirect bearing. You know, brethren, that you recommend your doctrine of the Primacy, or rather the Supremacy of Rome, because it is such a bond of union, and admirable preventive of schism. But we have already had occasion to notice how much the primitive Church was troubled with heresy and schism, and Cyril adds his testimony to the same melancholy evidence. For speaking of the coming of Antichrist, he enumerates the signs predicted in the Scripture, and acknowledges himself to be filled with alarm: 'The wars among the nations,' saith he, 'terrify me; the schisms of the churches terrify me, and the mutual hatred among brethren.' (188) He assigns no cause for these schisms, which resembles your argument. He makes no allusion to that departure from the supposed See of Peter, which is the great occasion of schism according to your theory. He mourns over the evil, as you would do, but seems to have no idea of your notion, either as respects the cause of schism, or its remedy.

But I pass on to a beautiful paragraph, which has struck me as hardly reconcileable with your favorite dogma. (189)

(188) *Ib.* Cat. xv. § 18. p. 233. 'Terrent me bella nationum, terrent ecclesiarum scissiones; terret mutuum fratrum odium.'

(189) *Ib.* Cat. xvi. § 22 p. 255. 'Magnum quiddam, et omnipotens in donis, et admirabile, Spiritus sanctus. Cogita quot nunc hic assidetis, quot animæ adsumus. Unicuique convenienter operatur, et medijs adstans uniuscujusque compositionem videt, videt et cogitationem et conscientiam, quidque et loquamur et mente agitemus. Magnum quidem est id quod modò dixi, sed adhuc tenue—Consideres velim mente ab eo illustratus, quot sint totius hujusce parœciæ Christiani; quotquot totius provinciæ, Palaestinae. Rursus protende mentem ab hac provincia in totum Romanorum imperium; et ab hoc adspectum converte in mundum universum; Persarum genera, et Indorum nationes, Gothos et Sauromatas, Gallos, Hispanosque, Mauros et Afros, et Æthiopas, at reliquos quorum nec nomina novimus: multi sunt enim populi, quorum ne ipsa quidem nomina ad notitiam nostram devenere'

'The Holy Spirit,' saith Cyril, 'is great, omnipotent in gifts, and altogether admirable. Think how many of you are now seated before me, how many minds are here assembled together. The Holy Spirit works on each, and, standing in the midst, beholds the composition of each, sees the thought and the conscience, the subjects of our speech, and of our secret reflection. This that I have said, is great, but yet it is a light matter. I wish you whose minds he has illuminated to consider further, how many Christians there are in this whole diocese, how many in the whole province of Palestine. Again, extend your mind from this province through the whole Roman empire, and from this turn to the whole world; the tribes of Persia, the nations of India, the Goths and Sarmatians, the Gauls and Spaniards, the Moors, and Africans, and Ethiopians, and the rest, of whom we do not even know the name: for there are many nations of whom the very names have not reached our notice. Look at the bishops of each nation, the presbyters, the deacons, the monks, the virgins, and the rest of the laity, and behold the great Ruler and superintendant of all, the bestower of gifts, how through the whole world he gives to one, modesty; to another, perpetual virginity; to another, pity; to another, zeal for the poor; to another, the power of resisting evil spirits; so that even as the sun, by one impulse of its rays, enlightens all things, so the Holy Spirit illumines those who possess spiritual vision.'

Now here, brethren, I think that the scope of this fine

Conspice cujusque gentis episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, monachos virgines, et reliquos laicos: et vide magnum rectorem ac præsidem donorumque largitorem; quomodo in omni mundo illi pudicitiam, isti perpetuam virginitatem, huic misericordiam, alii paupertatis studium, alteri adversantium spirituum effugandi vim adtribuit, et quemadmodum lux uno radii conjectu omnia collustrat, sic et Spiritus sanctus eos qui oculos habent illuminat.'

passage seems to call for some notice of the papacy, if there were any such thing allowed in the days of Cyril. For he is professedly enumerating the operations of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and to this end he reckons the bishops, the presbyters, the deacons, &c. of every nation. And would he omit the bishop of bishops, the ruler, the vicar of Christ, the governor who held the authority of the true God upon the earth, and whose administration of pastoral power over the whole Church needed far more of the guidance of the Holy Spirit than any of those whom Cyril mentions? To my mind it appears as unlikely that Cyril could thus enumerate the various ranks in the Church, and yet omit the pope, as that an historian should forget the king in describing a monarchy. I regard the passage, therefore, as furnishing strong circumstantial evidence against your doctrine.

Again, we find Cyril speaking of the apostles without distinction, where he saith, (190) 'Christ imparted the communication of the Holy Ghost to his apostles, for it is written: And when he had said this, he breathed on them and said: Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, and whose sins ye retain they are retained.' And he adds no intimation of your favourite distinction, by which Peter is constituted the head and pastor over his brethren.

On the other point which concerns the authority of Rome as the mistress and mother of all the Churches, I find your learned translator Touttée himself maintaining the claim of Jerusalem, with far greater reason, to be the mother Church.

(190) *Ib. Cat. xvii. § 12. p. 270.* 'Hujus Sancti Spiritus communicationem Apostolis impertivit, scriptum namque est: Et quum hoc dixisset, insufflavit, et dicit eis; Accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Quorumcumque remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; quorumcumque retinueritis, retenta sunt.'

(191) 'No one can deny,' saith he, 'that the authority of the Symbol (or creed) of Jerusalem is chief, if he will consider the following. 1st. That this Church was *the mother of all the rest*: there was the fountain of ecclesiastical tradition, and the very cradle of the Christian religion. 2d. There, the ancient tradition would be more continually kept in memory, because of the very presence of the monuments of Christ and the apostles.' The claim of Rome to be the mistress indeed, is not here impugned; but her favorite title of mother is most manifestly disputed.

We shall derive much greater satisfaction, however, from contemplating the description which Cyril gives us of the Catholic Church, in his Catechesis on the very point. For the extract to which I shall next ask your attention, brethren, is on that clause of the creed: 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.'

(192) 'The Church is called Catholic,' saith he, (or universal) 'because it is diffused from the farthest bounds to the utmost limits of the earth. Also, because she teaches universally

(191) Ib. Appendix ad Cateches. v. p. 82. § 7. 'Præcipuam esse Symboli Hierosolymitani auctoritatem nullus inficiari potest qui ad ista respexerit. 1. Hanc ecclesiam cæterarum omnium matrem esse; ibi traditionis ecclesiasticæ fontem, et religionis Christianæ cunabula. 2. Ibi antiquam traditionem, præsentibus Christi et apostolorum monumentis jugiter ad memoriam revocatam fuisse.'

(192) Ib. Cat. xviii. De ecclesia Catholica. § 23. 'Catholica enim vero (seu universalis) vocatur, eo quod per totum orbem ab extremis terræ finibus ad extremos usque fines diffusa est. Et quia universe et absque defectu docet omnia quæ in hominum notitiam venire debent dogmata, sive de visibilibus et invisibilibus, sive de cælestibus et terrestribus rebus. Tum etiam eo quod omne hominum genus recto cultui subjiciat, principes et privatos, doctos et imperitos. Ac denique, quia generaliter, quidem omne peccatorum genus quæ per animam et corpus perpetrantur, curat et sanat, eadem vero omne possidet, quovis nomine significetur, virtutis genus, in factis et verbis et spiritualibus cujusvis speciei donis.'

and without defect, all doctrines which ought to come under the notice of men, whether of visible and invisible, or of celestial and terrestrial things. Likewise, because she subjects to a right worship all ranks of men; princes and private individuals, the learned and the ignorant. And finally, because she cures and heals every kind of sin which is committed by the mind or by the body, and at the same time possesses every kind of virtue, by whatever name it may be known, whether in deeds or in words, or in spiritual gifts of every variety.'

Thus much for the term, CATHOLIC. Next let us hear Cyril on the word CHURCH. (193) 'The psalmist truly,' saith he, 'had sung before: In the Church praise the Lord from the fountains of Israel. But since, on account of their treachery towards the Saviour, the Jews were cast away from favor, the Saviour built up a second from the gentiles, our holy Church of Christians, of which he said to Peter: And on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. Of both these, David spake

(193) Ib. § xxv. p. 297. 'Prius quidem cecinerat Psalmista: *In ecclesia benedicite Deum Dominum ex fontibus Israel. Ex quo vero propter structas adversus Salvatorem insidias, abjecti sunt a gratia Judæi; secundam ex gentibus ædificavit Servator, sanctam nostram Christianorum Ecclesiam, de qua dixit Petro: Et super hanc petram ædificabo meam Ecclesiam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam. De ambabus illis prophetans aperte dicebat David; de priori quidem quæ abjecta fuit; *Odio habui ecclesiam malignantium. de secunda vero quæ ædificata est; in eodem Psalmo. Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ; et mox in consequentibus: In ecclesiis benedicam te, Domine. Rejecta namque unâ illâ quæ in Judæa erat, per totum orbem deinceps Christi multiplicantur ecclesiæ, de quibus dictum est in Psalmis: Cantate Domino canticum novum, laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum. Quæis consentaneâ propheta Judæis dixit, non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus omnipotens. Statimque subdit: Propterea ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, nomen meum glorificatum est in gentibus. De eadem sancta catholica Ecclesia scribit ad Timotheum Paulus: ut scias quomodo oporteat in domo Dei versari, quæ est Ecclesia Dei viventis, columna et stabilimentum veritatis.'**

openly: of the first truly which was cut off: I hate the Church of the wicked: of the second which was to be built up, in the same psalm: O Lord, I have loved the honor of thy house; and presently in the following verses: In the Churches I will praise thee, O Lord. For that one which was in Judea being rejected, the Churches of Christ are thenceforward multiplied through the whole world, of which it is said in the Psalms: Sing unto the Lord a new song, his praise in the Church of the Saints. To which the prophet agreeing saith to the Jews: I have no will towards you, said the Almighty. And immediately he adds: From the rising of the sun even to the setting of the same, my name shall be glorified among the gentiles. Of the same holy Catholic Church, Paul writes to Timothy: that you may know how to behave in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.'

(194) 'But since,' continues Cyril, 'the name of Church is

(194) Ib. § xxvi. Quoniam vero Ecclesiae nomen diversis accommodatur rebus, ut et de multitudine quae in theatro Ephesiorum erat, scriptum est: Et quum haec dixisset, dimisit ecclesiam, (seu concionem) proprie autem et vere quis dixerit *ecclesiam malignantium* esse haeticorum coetus, Marcionistarum dico, et Manichaeorum reliquorumque: idcirco nunc cautissime tibi tradidit fides ita tenendum: **ET IN UNAM SANCTAM CATHOLICAM ECCLESIAM**; ut eorum abominanda collegia fugiens, adhaereas semper sanctae catholicae ecclesiae, in qua et renatus es. Et si quando peregrinatus fueris in civitatibus, ne simpliciter requiras ubi sit Dominicum; (i. e. Ecclesiae et sacri conventus aedes)—nam et caeterae impiorum sectae atque haereses, suas ipsorum speluncas Dominicorum nomine honestare nituntur;—neque ubi sit Ecclesia; sed ubi sit *Catholica* Ecclesia; hoc enim proprium nomen est hujus sanctae, et matris omnium nostrum, quae quidem et sponsa est Domini nostri Jesu Christi unigeniti filii Dei, (scriptum est enim: Sicut et Christus dilexit Ecclesiam, et semetipsum tradidit pro ea, et omnia quae consequuntur:) et figuram prae se fert atque imitationem *Superioris Hierusalem quae libera est, et mater omnium nostrum*. Quae quum prius sterilis fuerit, nunc est numerosae proliae parens.

accommodated to various things, as of the multitude which was in the theatre of Ephesus, it is written: And when he had said thus, he dismissed the Church, (or assembly) properly and truly it may be said that the Church of the wicked is the assembly of heretics, I say, of the Marcionites, and the Manicheans, and the rest: therefore now the faith delivers it to you to be most carefully preserved; AND IN ONE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH, in order that you may avoid the abominable assemblies of these men, and may adhere always to the holy Catholic Church, in which you were regenerated. And if you travel sometimes in the cities, do not simply ask for the Lord's house—for the sects of the impious and the heretics endeavor to dignify their caverns by the name of the Lord's house,—nor yet inquire merely where is the Church; but where is the *Catholic* Church; for this is the proper name of that holy mother of us all, which truly is the spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; (for it is written; like as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it, with all that follows) and she bears the figure and image of that Jerusalem above, which is free, and is the mother of us all. Who, although she was barren, is now the parent of a numerous seed.'

(195) 'The first, then, being repudiated, in the second, namely, the Catholic Church, God, as saith St. Paul, placed

(195) Ib. § xxvii. p. 298. Priore namque repudiata, in secunda, catholica videlicet Ecclesiâ, *Deus*, uti Paulus ait, *posuit primum apostolos, secundò prophetas, tertio doctores, postea potestates, tum gratias curationum, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum, et omnem cujuslibet virtutis speciem: Sapientiam dico et intelligentiam, temperantiam et justitiam, misericordiam et humanitatem, insuperabilemque in persecutionibus patientiam. Quae quidem per arma justitiae dextra ac sinistra, per gloriam et ignominiam, primum in persecutionibus et angustiis sanctos martyres diversis et multiplici flore nexis patientiae coronis redimivit; nunc vero in pacis temporibus, Dei gra-*

first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, afterwards powers, then the gifts of healing, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues, and every kind of virtue; wisdom and understanding, temperance and justice, mercy and humanity, and patience not to be overcome by persecutions. Which, truly, by the armour of righteousness, on the right hand and on the left, by honor and dishonor, at first in persecutions and sorrows, adorned her holy martyrs with divers crowns woven with many a flower of patience; but now, in times of peace, receives, by the favor of God, due honor from kings, and men conspicuous for their high dignity, and from every kind and species of men. For the kings of the nations, distributed in divers places, have limits to their power: it is the holy Catholic Church alone which through the whole world enjoys an unlimited power. Since God, as it is written, has placed peace for her boundary. Of which if I were to declare everything, my discourse must be continued for many hours.'

I have given you this long extract, brethren, from the admirable Cyril, in order to shew the striking difference between his description of the Catholic Church in the middle of the fourth century, and the definition presented by your expositors at the present day. For while we behold your Doway Catechism, in its exposition of the creed, obliging every child to say, that the church 'is the congregation of all the faithful under Jesus Christ, their invisible head, and his vicar upon earth, the pope,'—while it defines the

tiā debitos honores recipit a regibus, et viris dignitatum sublimitate conspicuis, et omni denique hominum genere ac specie. Quumque reges distributarum diversis locis gentium, suae potestatis limites habent; sola est sancta Catholica Ecclesia, quae per orbem totum indeterminata gaudet potestate. *Posuit enim Deus, ut scriptum est, terminum ejus pacem.* De qua si omnia dicere vellem, multarum mihi horarum habenda esset oratio.'

essential parts of the Church to be '*a pope or supreme head, bishops, pastors and laity,*'—while it teaches that from '*the pope and general Councils we have our spiritual life and motion as we are christians,*' and that the man who has not a due subordination and connexion to these *must needs be dead, and not accounted a member of the Church,*'—Cyril, expounding the same creed, describing the parts of the Church, and speaking largely on all that is most important to a true understanding of the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH, says not one word of pope, or Council; nor does he, in the whole of his admirable discourses, afford even an allusion to the existence of such a dominion as you claim, over the vast extent of Christendom.

But before I dismiss this witness, let me present to you a short extract to shew, that although he took no note of pope or Council, he knew how to value the Scriptures. Thus in one place he saith (196) '*are not the divine Scriptures our salvation.*' And again: (197) '*Let us therefore,*' saith he, '*declare concerning the Holy Spirit, only those things which are written: but if there be any thing unwritten, let us not curiously pry into it. The Holy Ghost himself dictated the Scriptures; he also declared concerning himself, whatever he chose, or we were able to receive. Let us say therefore those things which have been said by him: for whatever he has not said we dare not.*'

Alas, brethren! how little did this great luminary of the

(196) Ib. Cat. xii. § 16. p. 170. '*Nonne divinae scripturae sunt salus nostra?*'

(197) Ib. Cat. xvi. § 2. p. 243-4. '*Dicamus igitur nos de Spiritu sancto ea tantum quae scripta sunt: si quid vero scriptum non fuerit, ne curiosè scitemur. Ipse spiritus sanctus eloquutus est scripturas: ipse de seipso quoque dixit quaecumque voluit, seu quaecumque capere potuimus. Dicamus ergo quae ab ipso dicta sunt: nam quae ille non dixit, nos non audemus.*'

primitive Church know of the modern boundaries of faith, when he thus confined it to the word of God, recorded in the Scriptures, instead of looking for the same dictates of inspiration in the decrees of Councils, and attributing equal infallibility to the Catholic Church. Remember, I beseech you, that Cyril flourished in the very next generation after the Council of Nice, that Macarius the Patriarch of Jerusalem and eighteen bishops of Palestine had assisted at it, that the controversy with the Arians and Semi-Arians continued throughout his own day, and gave him no small disturbance, so that, like Athanasius, he had all imaginable reason to magnify the authority of this Council, and place its decrees on the highest ground. Yet nothing of the kind does he any where intimate; but, on the contrary, limits the dictates of the Holy Spirit to the Scriptures alone.

Perhaps I ought not to close this chapter without some notice of the frauds which here, as in almost every ancient father, have exercised the judgment and drawn forth the honest reprobation of your own critics. One of these frauds seems to have been either committed or adopted by your celebrated doctor Thomas Aquinas, in order to aid the power of the pope in the Greek controversy. (198) 'Thus,' saith Thomas, 'Cyril the patriarch of Jerusalem declares, speaking in the person of Christ to Peter: *Thou for a while, and I forever, with all whom I shall set in thy place, fully and perfectly, with the sacrament and with authority, will I be with them, as I am with thee.*' 'Launoy,' observes

(198) Ib. p. 388. '*Item Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus,*' saith S. Thomas, '*patriarcha dicit ex persona Christi loquens, [ad Petrum:] 'Tu cum sine, et ego sine fine cum omnibus quos loco tui ponam: plene et perfecte, sacramento et auctoritate cum eis ero, sicut sum et tecum.'*' Launoyius epistola ad Paulum Ratnynum Parisiensem Theologum, qua multa similia excutit testimonia, a sancto Thoma in opusculo contra errores Græcorum objecta, hujus quoque *ροθελαι*ν probat.

Touttée, candidly, 'in the epistle which he wrote to Paul Ratuý, where he examines many *similar testimonies* adduced by St. Thomas in his work against the errors of the Greeks, proves this passage also to be spurious.' And in his learned and elaborate Dissertation, where he speaks of some other forgeries on the name of Cyril, he uses this strong language. (199) 'But that which an ignorant and imprudent rascal has feigned of epistles from Augustin to Cyril, and Cyril to Augustin concerning the death and miracles of Jerome, excels every thing else in impudence; and I have doubted whether, instead of committing it to the press, I ought not rather to have committed it to the flames. The opinion prevailed however, lest any thing should be omitted in the work which might be desired, that by this one example it should be shewn how much could be done by lying. Of the same chaff is the fragment cited by S. Thomas under the name of Cyril.'

Brethren, I cite this passage not only that I may do credit to the honest indignation expressed by upright minds amongst yourselves, when forced to speak of the shameful frauds committed and tolerated so long upon the venerated authors of the purer ages, but also for the sake of its bearing on what we assume to be genuine. That the writings of the fathers are yet sufficiently expurgated, who can assure us? The fact that a writer so profound and so justly celebrated as Thomas Aquinas could either have been himself so deceived, or so willing to deceive, is one which you will

(199) *Ib.* Dissertatio de Cataches. S. Cyril. Cap. 1. p. xciv. 'Sed omnem fere impudentiam vincit, quod inscilus et imprudens nebulo Augustini ad Cyrillum, et Cyrilli ad Augustinum epistolas finxit de obitu et miraculis S. Hieronymi: quæ quidem flammis digniora quam typis recuderem dubitavi. Vicit tamen sententia, ne in hoc opere desiderarentur, ut hoc uno exemplo, quantum mendacio licuerit declararetur. Ejusdem furfuris est fragmentum a S. Thoma sub nomine Cyrilli citatum.'

not read without mortification and sorrow. And when we consider that your whole fabric of ecclesiastical polity and peculiar faith is supported by appeals to the remains of antiquity, from which it costs your own brightest scholars so much toil to cleanse away the foul rubbish of imposture, can you wonder that we ask you to examine them anew? Admiring, as warmly as yourselves, the pure gold of the ancient Church, are not our best efforts well spent in separating it from the alloy of unauthorized innovation?

CHAPTER XXIII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The next name on the list of witnesses, is Hilary, the bishop of Poitiers, whose works may be set down about the year 350. A considerable number of passages occur in this writer, which I shall proceed to place before you in their own integrity; beginning with those which seem most in favor of your doctrine.

In his treatise on the Trinity, he introduces, in a fine address to Christ, a sketch of the sacred history, speaking of Moses, and David, Solomon and the prophets, and then proceeds to say, (200) ‘Matthew, chosen from a publican to be an apostle, John, through the kind familiarity of the Lord, thought worthy of a revelation of heavenly mysteries, Simon, blessed after the acknowledgment of the mystery’, (i. e. the mystery of the incarnation) ‘*tying at the foundation of the Church and receiving the keys of the celestial*

(200) Hil. De Trinitat. Lib. VI. Ed. Paris. 1652, p. 110. ‘Electus ex publicano Mathæus in apostolum, et ex familiaritate Domini revelatione cœlestium mysteriorum dignus Joannes, et post sacramenti confessionem beatus Simon ædificationi ecclesiæ subjacens, et claves regni cœlestis accipiens, et reliqui omnes Spiritu Sancto prædicantes, et ex persecutore apostolus vas electionis tuæ Paulus, in profundo maris vivens, in cœlo tertio homo in paradiso ante martyrium, in martyrio perfectæ fidei consummata libatio. Ab his ergo quæ teneo edoctus sum, his immedicabiliter imbutus sum. Et ignosce omnipotens Deus, quia in his nec emendari possum, et commori possum.’

kingdom, and all the rest preaching by the Holy Spirit, and Paul, from a persecutor made an apostle of thine election, living in the depth of the sea, a mortal in the third heaven, in paradise before martyrdom, the offering of a perfect faith being consummated by martyrdom. By these I am instructed in the doctrines which I hold, with these I am unalterably imbued. And forgive me, Almighty God, for adding, that in these I am not able to improve, but am able to die.'

It is perfectly evident that Hilary, in enumerating the privileges of the apostles after this manner, makes no allusion to the point for which you cite the words I have italicised. No man denies that St. Peter was blessed, that he lay at the foundation of the Church, and that he received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The question is: Did he receive any power of jurisdiction or government over the other apostles, and was that power transferred to the bishops of Rome? on neither of which points does this, your favorite passage, shed a ray of light. Taken by itself, brethren, in the manner customary with your writers, and aptly introduced when the mind of your reader is prepared to give it the desired construction, it may, indeed, be made to look like evidence on your side. But taken in its real connexion, it is manifest that Hilary has here said nothing to support your doctrine.

The next passage, however, amounts to a positive demonstration of his meaning. Hilary is commenting on the apparent difficulty presented by the apostles saying, on the night in which their Lord was betrayed: 'Now we know that thou knowest all things. By this we believe that thou hast come out from God.' And he addresses them, rhetorically in these words: (201) 'You,' saith he, 'O holy and

(201) *ib.* p. 118. E. 'Tanta et tam Deo propria, vos, ô sancti et beati viri, ob fidei vestræ meritum claves regni cœlorum sortiti, et ligandi

blessed men, who had seen so many things only suitable to God, performed by our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and who, *on account of the merit of your faith, obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the right of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth*, do you protest that you now, for the first time, understood the truth that the Saviour had come forth from God?' In this passage, brethren, Hilary admits, in the plainest terms, that the privileges of Peter were equally the property of all the apostles; and of course we cannot do justice to his testimony if we put a different comment on the other.

Again, I find our witness declaring, that not Peter, *but the faith which he confessed*, was the foundation of the Church; just as we have seen the same sentiment in the other fathers, and shall, by and by, see it in many more. He is addressing himself to the Arians who maintained that Christ was a creature. (202): 'Peter,' saith he, 'confessed Christ to be the Son of God: but at this day, you, the lying priesthood of a new apostolate, cast forth Christ as being a creature from nothing. What force do you give to these glorious sayings? Confessing the son of God, for this he was blessed. *This is the revelation of the Father, this is the foundation of the Church*, this is the security of eternity, from this are the keys of the kingdom of heaven, from this his earthly judgments are accounted heavenly.'

atque solvendi in coelo et in terra jus adepti, gesta esse per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Dei filium videratis: et ad id quod a Deo exisse se dixit, nunc primum vos veri intelligentiam assequi protestamini.'

(202) *ib.* 121. F. 'Ille,' (i. e. Petrus) 'confessus est Christum filium Dei: at mihi tu hodie novi apostolatus mendax sacerdotium ingeris Christum ex nihilo creaturam. Quam vim affers dictis gloriosis? filium Dei confessus, ob hoc beatus est. Hæc revelatio patris est, hoc ecclesiæ fundamentum est, hæc securitas æternitatis est, hinc regni coelorum habet clavem, hinc terrena ejus judicia cœlestia sunt.'

He pursues his argument in the following animated strain: (203) 'Let there be, truly, another faith, if there be any other keys of the kingdom of heaven. Let there be another faith, if there is another Church to come, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. Let there be another faith, if there is to be another apostolate, able to bind and loose in heaven, what had been bound and loosed on earth. Let there be another faith, if Christ the Son of God, is to be preached as being other than he is. But if this only faith which confessed Christ to be the Son of God, merited the glory of all the beatitudes in Peter, it must needs be, that the faith which only confesses him to be rather a creature, out of nothing, cannot obtain the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and being constructed neither with apostolic faith nor with apostolic virtue, there can be neither Church nor Christ connected with it.'

There is another passage, which seems better suited to your doctrine, though in truth, it presents no difficulty. Speaking of the cure of Peter's mother-in-law, and expounding it rather mystically, Hilary observes: (204) 'For he first believed, and is the beginning of the apostolate.'

(203) Ib. 122. D. 'Sit sanè fides alia, si aliæ claves regni cœlorum sunt. Sit fides alia, si ecclesia alia est futura, adversum quam portæ inferi non prævalebunt. Sit fides alia, si erit alius apostolatus, ligata et soluta per se in terra ligans in cœlo atque solvens. Sit fides alia, si Christus filius Dei alius præterquam qui est, prædicabitur. Sin verò hæc sola fides confessa Christum Dei filium, omnium beatitudinum gloriam meruit in Petro: necesse est, ut ea quæ creaturam potius ex nihilo confitebitur, claves regni cœlorum non adepta, et extra fidem ac virtutem apostolicam constituta, nec ecclesia sit ulla, nec Christus.'

(204) Ib. Com. in Mat. p. 524. D. 'Nam primus credidit, et apostolatus est princeps.' It may be observed that the phrase *princeps ecclesiæ*, a prince of the Church, occurs to denote a bishop, in the viii. book of Hilary's Treatise on the Trinity, p. 158. D. Speaking of St Paul's instructions to Titus, he saith: 'Non enim Apostolicus sermo probitatis honestatisque præceptis hominem tantùm sæculo conformat

The word which I have here translated beginning, is *Princeps*, which also signifies a prince, a ruler, and a governor. Hence, in your quotations of the passage, your writers give it *princeps apostolorum*, PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES. But you know, perfectly well, brethren, that the word *princeps* has the meaning of *first, original, primitive*, for its primary signification, in all our Lexicons. Its secondary meaning is *chief, principal*; and it is only in its third meaning that it bears the sense of *prince or princess, emperor, chieftain, governor, ruler, &c.* Hence, it is not doing justice to Hilary, nor to the other fathers, to confine this word to that single meaning, which the modern languages of Europe have derived from it. More especially would this be indefensible when Hilary says not *princeps apostolorum*, the PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES, but *princeps apostolatus*, the beginning of the APOSTOLATE, i. e. the apostolic office, which could not properly exist until the apostles knew that Christ was the Son of God, because no man could be an apostle under the Gospel dispensation, until he was enabled to preach the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel. I beg your candid attention, brethren, to these remarks, in the firm persuasion, that the great bulk of your supposed authority for Peter's jurisdiction, in the writings of the fathers, rests on this limited and unclassical rendering of the word *princeps*, which, in its first two meanings, expresses what we all allow; and which can only be made to serve your purpose by tying it down to its third signification, against the whole strain of their other testimony.

I proceed to set before you the rest of Hilary's evidence

ad vitam, neque rursus per doctrinae scientiam scribam synagogae instituit ad legem: sed perfectum Ecclesiae principem perfectis maximarum virtutum bonis instituit, ut et vita ejus ornatur docendo, et doctrina vivendo.' In all cases of words admitting of more than one meaning, the subject matter and the context must solve the difficulty.

upon the point in question. (205) 'The confession of Peter,' saith he, 'obtained a worthy reward, for that he saw the Son of God in man. Blessed was he who was praised, inasmuch as his eyes saw and beheld beyond human nature, not beholding that which was of flesh and blood, but discerning the Son of God by the revelation of his heavenly Father; and judged worthy, who first acknowledged what was of God in Christ. *O happy foundation of the Church in the declaration of this new name: a rock worthy of that building, which should loose the infernal laws, and the gates of hell, and all the bars of death. O happy door-keeper of heaven, to whose will the keys of the eternal porch are delivered, of which the earthly judgment is a prejudicated authority in heaven, that those things which are bound or loosed on earth may obtain in heaven a like condition.'*

To make this passage consistent with the rest of Hilary's testimony, it would be necessary to understand it as spoken of the faith rather than of the person of Peter. And yet it is evident, that even if it were spoken of him personally, it would still avail nothing to the support of your doctrine, because I have already quoted the declaration of the same witness, asserting the same privileges of all the apostles.

(205) Ib. 572. E. 'Et dignum planè confessio Petri præmium consecuta est, quia Dei filium in homine vidisset. Beatus hic est, qui ultra humanum oculos intendisse et vidisse laudatus est: non id quod ex carne et sanguine erat contuens, sed Dei filium coelestis patris revelatione conspiciens: dignusque judicatus, qui quod in Christo Dei esset, primus agnosceret. O in nuncupatione novi nominis felix Ecclesiae fundamentum: dignaque aedificatione illius petra, quae infernas leges, et tartari portas, et omnia mortis claustra dissolveret. O beatus coeli janitor, cujus arbitrio claves aeterni aditus traduntur, cujus terreste judicium praejudicata autoritas sit in coelo: ut quae in terris aut ligata sint aut soluta, statuti ejusdem conditionem obtineant et in coelo.'

Again, we read, in the same work of Hilary: (206) 'This is to be considered in Peter, that he *preceded the others in faith*. For while the others were still ignorant, he first answered: Thou art the Son of the living God. He first expressed his abhorrence of the passion of Christ, while he thought it evil. He first answered, that he was ready to die for his Lord, and that he would not deny him. He first refused to have his feet washed. He drew a sword also, against those who took his Lord. But at his' (I suppose Christ's) 'ascent into the ship, the wind and the sea were calmed: by the return of their serenity, the eternal peace and tranquillity of the Church is indicated. And because then he came, (in power) so manifest, they all, justly astonished, said; Truly he is the Son of God.'

This passage is one of many, which explains what the ancients meant by Peter's primacy. He was first, *primus*, in order of time, to profess his faith; therefore he was the first, to receive the assurance of the consequent blessing. I have set forth the context of these passages at large, for the purpose of shewing you, brethren, that Hilary did not connect his praise of Peter with any idea of pastoral power or government over his fellow apostles; still less, with any notion of an official jurisdiction to be passed down to his successors in the Church of Rome. We shall see, pre-

(206) Ib. 565. Com in Mat. 'Et hoc in Petro considerandum est, fide cum caeteros anteisse. Nam ignorantibus caeteris, primus respondit: Tu es filius Dei vivi. Primus passionem, dum malum putat, detestatus est. Primus et moriturum se, et non negaturum spondit. Primus lavari sibi pedes prohibuit. Gladium quoque adversus eos, qui Dominum comprehendebant, eduxit. Ascensu autem ejus in navim, ventum et mare esse sedatum: post claritatis suae reditum, aeterna ecclesiae pax et tranquillitas indicatur. Et quia tum manifestus adveniet, rectè admirantes universi loquuti sunt: *Verè filius Dei est.*'

sently, more proof, that such a doctrine had no place in the system of Hilary.

For listen to him, commenting on the 118th Psalm : (207) 'What is thy portion, O Peter? Thou hadst renounced all things, saying to thy Lord: Behold we have left all and have followed thee, what shall we have therefore? And he had answered: Amen I say unto you, that you who have followed me in the regeneration, shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel: and others, at your example, leaving all things, he had promised that they should receive an hundred fold, and afterwards, eternal life.'

'What then, Peter, is thy portion. Thou hast, though I do not dare to say more than an hundred fold, nevertheless I say that thy possessions are beyond calculation. For thou sayest: What I have, I give unto thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, arise and walk. O happy possession! O perfect portion of God! Thou dost not dispense earthly treasure, but thou makest amends for the work of nature; and restorest the condemned parts of a deformed birth. Thou orderest a man born lame, to walk, and incitest a man

(207) Ib. p. 890. Enar. in Psalm. 118. 'Quid est, Petre, istud quod possides? Renunciaveras omnibus, Deo tuo dicens: Ecce nos omnia dereliquimus, et secuti sumus te, quid erit nobis? Et tibi ille responderat: Amen dico vobis, quod vos qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione sedebitis super duodecim thronos judicantes duodecim tribus Israeli. Et exemplo vestro caeteris relinquentibus cuncta sponderat, quod et centuplum acciperent, et dehinc vitam aeternam possessuri essent. Quid est igitur istud, Petre, quod habes? Habes planè, et non audeo dicere plus te centuplo obtinere, dico tamen te sine multiplicatione calculi possidere. Dicis enim: Quod habeo, hoc tibi do, in nomine Jesu Christi surge et ambula. O felix possessio! O perfecta Dei portio! Non terrena largiris, sed naturae opus rependis: et vitiosi partus damna restauras. Claudum natum ingredi jubes, et multae aetatis virum incessu rudi incitas. Has opes tribuit, cujus Deus portio est. Novit et Paulus divitiae suae glorias, dicens: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini mei Jesu Christi,' &c.

of many years to leap with vigor. He bestows this wealth, whose portion is God. And Paul knows the glories of his riches, saying ; God forbid that I should glory, unless in the cross of Jesus Christ, my Lord.' &c.

If Hilary, brethren, had professed your notions, would he, in thus setting forth the portion of Peter, have passed by that peculiar portion in which none of the other apostles shared, viz. the plenitude of power, as the ruler of them all ?

Again, in his comment on the 51th Psalm, Hilary repeats the declaration that (208) 'the *apostles*,' (not Peter only,) 'obtained the keys of the heavens.' And in his books on the Trinity he calls St. Paul 'The Master of the nations,'—'The chosen Doctor of the nations,'—And again : 'The elect master of the Church,' (209) These titles would far better suit your hypothesis, than anything which Hilary says of Peter. Indeed the latter would be precisely to the point, if the subject were not the wrong apostle.

One extract more from the writings of Hilary may serve to complete his testimony. It is from his epistle to the emperor Constantius, complaining of his exile, deploring the distracted state of the Church, and referring the emperor to Scripture for the truth of the orthodox doctrine on the Trinity. In my opinion, it exhibits clearly the polity of the Church, and the regard paid to Councils, in the days of Hilary.

(208) *Ib.* In Psalm 51. Enar. p. 706. 'Apostoli coelorum claves sortiti sunt.'

(209) *Ib.* De Trinit. Lib. vi. p. 125. D. 'Non incerta et infirma ille, qui electionis est vas, locutus est : Nec Magister gentium, et Apostolus Christi ambiguae doctrinae suae errorem reliquit.'

Ib. Lib. vii. p. 158. F. 'Non ignoravit doctor hic gentium, et ex conscientia loquentis atque habitantis in se Christi Ecclesiae electus magister.'

(210) 'I am a bishop,' saith he, addressing the emperor, 'in the communion of all the Churches and bishops of Gaul, although continuing in exile, and as yet distributing the communion of the Church though my presbyters. But I am banished not through crime, but through faction, and by false messengers of the Council deceiving thee, most pious emperor.' &c.

(211) 'Dangerous, as well as miserable is our condition,' continues our author, 'now that there are as many creeds as wills, as many doctrines as manners, and as many causes of blasphemy as vices, whilst our faith is written as we choose, or as we choose is interpreted. And although, since there is one God, and one Lord, and one baptism, there should be one faith, we cut out a part from that only faith ;

(210) *Ad Constantium Augustum Liber. Ib. p. 341. 'Episcopus ego sum in omnium Gallicarum Ecclesiarum atque episcoporum communionem, licet in exilio permanens, et Ecclesie adhuc per presbyteros meos communionem distribuens. Exulo autem non crimine, sed factione, et falsis nunciis synodi apud te Imperatorem pium,' &c.*

(211) *Ib. 343. 'Periculosum nobis admodum, atque etiam miserabile est, tot nunc fides existere, quot voluntates: et tot nobis doctrinas esse quot mores: et tot causas blasphemiarum pullulare, quot vitia sunt: dum aut ita fides scribuntur, ut volumus, aut ita ut volumus, intelliguntur. Et cum secundum unum Deum et unum Dominum, et unum baptisma, fides una sit, excidimus ab ea fide quæ sola est: et dum plures fiunt, ad id cœperunt esse, ne ulla sit. Conscii enim nobis invicem sumus, post Niceni Conventus Synodum nihil aliud quàm fidem scribi. Deum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitatibus quæstio est, dum de ambiguis occasio est, dum de autoribus querela est, dum de studiis certamen est, dum in consensu difficultas est, dum alter alteri anathema esse coepit: prope jam nemo Christi est. Incerto eum doctrinarum vento vagamur, et aut dum docemus, perturbamus: aut dum docemur, erramus. Jam verò proximi anni fides, quid jam de immutatione in se habet? Primum quæ homousion decernit taceri: sequens rursus, quæ homousion decernit et prædicat. Tertium deinceps, quæ usiam simpliciter a patribus præsumptam, per indulgentiam excusat. Postremum quantum, quæ non excusat, sed condemnat.'*

and while we make many creeds, we begin to approach that state where there is none. For we are conscious amongst ourselves, that since the Council of Nice, nothing has been written but creeds. It is a battle about God in words, while there is a dispute about novelties, while there is a falling into snares through ambiguities, while there is a quarrel about authors, and a conflict about studies, while there is difficulty in consent, while one begins to pronounce anathema against another; already we are near the point when no one is of Christ. We wander in an uncertain wind of doctrines, and either we trouble others while we instruct, or we err while we are instructed. Already it may be asked, whether the creed of the last year has any thing immutable about it? First there is a council which decrees that the word consubstantial should be disused: then another which decrees and preaches this same consubstantiality: afterwards a third, which excuses the word substance by way of indulgence, inasmuch as it was taken in simplicity from the fathers; lastly a fourth, which excuses not, but condemns it.'

I pass on however to the conclusion of Hilary's introductory address, where, with honest boldness, he claims the attention of the emperor on a different ground from the decrees of Councils. (212) 'Hear,' saith he, 'I ask, those things which are written concerning Christ, lest, instead of

(212) *Ib.* p. 345. D. 'Audi, rogo, ea quæ de Christo sunt scripta, ne sub eis ea quæ non scripta sunt prædicentur. Summitte ad ea, quæ de libris locuturus sum, aures tuas: fidem tuam ad Deum erigas. Audi, quod proficit ad fidem, ad unitatem, ad æternitatem. Locutus sum tecum cum honore regni et fidei tuæ, omnia ad orientis et occidentis pacem profutura; sub publica conscientia sub synodo dissidenti sub lite famosa. Præmitto interim pignus futuri apud te sermonis mei. Non aliqua ad scandalum, neque quæ extra Evangelium sunt, defendam,' &c.

these, those things which are not written should be preached. Submit your ears to what I shall say to you, from the books. You may raise your faith to God. Hear what is profitable for faith, for unity, for eternity. I shall set before you, with due respect towards your kingdom and your faith, all those things which may benefit the peace both of the East and of the West; under the public conscience, under contending councils, under notorious strife. I give you beforehand, meanwhile, a pledge of my future discourse; I shall support nothing for the sake of scandal, nor any thing which goes beyond the Gospel.'

To my mind, brethren, the state of things disclosed in this extract is at utter variance with your present polity. For if the bishop of Rome had then been acknowledged the supreme judge of all religious causes, according to your system, how could Hilary have been banished by faction, through the arts of false messengers sent from the Council to the emperor? If the pope were then what you hold him to be now, why did not Hilary appeal to him, and cite before his tribunal the disturbers of his diocese? Or at least, why does he not tell the emperor something about the true system of Apostolical government, and remind him that he ought not to suffer a bishop to be banished, until he had the sanction of the pope of Rome, the successor of Peter, who had 'the authority not of a mere man, but of the true God upon the earth,' in the words of your canon law? Is it credible that a banished bishop, seeking the favor of his prince, and believing that *by divine right* the pope of Rome was what you hold him to be, could omit all allusion to the official prerogatives of this chief ruler of Christ's Church on such an occasion, and write as if there were no earthly governor or supreme judge over the people of God?

But this extract shews, further, the miserable distractions of the Church, and the total inefficiency of Councils to command acquiescence or general consent. How does this consist with your doctrine, that a General Council, approved by the pope, was an infallible director, being the special organ of the Holy Ghost, in the opinion of the fathers? Where does Hilary speak in such a strain of the Council of Nice? Does he not, on the contrary, make light of all these councils, speak of them all with the same apparent disapprobation, and instead of telling the emperor that the Nicene Synod was infallible, does he not pledge himself to confine his argument to the Scriptures alone? Most manifest, then, brethren, does it seem to my judgment, that Hilary knew nothing of either of these points which are now considered by you as fundamental, viz. the supreme authority of the pope, and the infallibility of General Councils. So that on the whole, I consider this witness as a decided adversary to the antiquity and apostolical warrant of your exclusive claims. His testimony, indeed, like that of many others, is not so much positive as circumstantial; but to those who are accustomed to weigh the force of testimony, there is none so convincing, because there is none so little exposed to fraud or imposition.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

To Basil, surnamed the Great, the celebrated bishop of Cesarea, we must now recur, for the next link in our chain of testimony. His works may be set down to A. D. 370, and will furnish several proofs, which, to my mind, seem conclusive, that your doctrine of Roman supremacy made no part of his system.

I shall begin with citing a passage in which he mentions Peter incidentally, because I do not find any thing more to your purpose in his writings. Speaking of the general principle, that by the names of men, we do not understand their essence or their substance, but only those circumstances or qualities by which one individual stands personally distinguished from others, he says: (213) 'Therefore by this word,' (sc. Peter,) 'we understand the son of Jonah, who was of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, who, from a fisherman, was called to the ministry of the apostolate. Who,

In the citations from Basil, I quote your own latin version.

(213) Basil op. om. Ed. Benedict. Paris. A. D. 1721. Tom. 1. p. 240. 'Illico enim per hanc vocem intelligimus Ionæ filium, qui fuit ex Bethsaida, Andreae fratrem, qui ex piscatore ad apostolatus ministerium vocatus est. Qui quoniam fide præstabat, Ecclesiæ ædificationem in seipsum recepit: quorum nihil quidquam essentia est, si essentia tanquam substantia intelligatur. Qua re nomen characterem quidem Petri nobis circumscribit,' &c.

because he stood before others in faith, received upon himself the building of the Church: Of which things there is nothing concerning the essence of Peter, if, by essence, we understand his substance. Wherefore the name of Peter, truly, represents his character.' &c.

We see here, the oft-repeated fact, that Peter was the first foundation stone in the building of the Church, because he was the first to acknowledge his Redeemer. But if, by this, Basil intended to intimate your doctrine, he would have been more likely to have said, that Peter was called from being a fisherman to *the government* of the apostolate; instead of saying, that he was called to its *service* or *ministry*.

My next quotation, however, is more to the purpose. It is an extract from the liturgy which bears the name of Basil; and embraces that part where prayer is offered for the bishop of Alexandria, styling him, Most holy and blessed pontiff, father, pope, and patriarch, and calling his office the holy pontificate or high priesthood; while there is not, either here, or elsewhere through the whole of this interesting liturgy, the slightest reference to the 'Vicar of Christ,' the 'chief ruler,' the pope of Rome. The passage to which I refer is as follows:

(214) 'Let us again beseech the omnipotent and merciful God, the Father of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus

(214) *Ih. Tom. 2. p. 675. 'Oratio pro Papa.'*

'Rursus etiam rogemus omnipotentem et misericordem Deum, Patrem Domini, Dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per quem obsecramus et rogamus te, amator hominum, bone Domine. Memento, Domine, sanctissimi et beatissimi Pontificis nostri. Abba N. Papae et Patriarchae magnae urbis Alexandriae. Conservans, conserva eum nobis, per annos multos et tempora pacifica, perfecte fungentem eo qui illi a te commissus est pontificatu sancto, secundum sanctam et beatam tuam voluntatem, recte dispensantem verbum veritatis, pascentemque in sanctitate et justitia populum tuum: cum omnibus orthodoxis Episco-

Christ, through whom we pray and implore thee, O lover of men, good Lord. Remember, O Lord, our most holy and blessed pontiff, father N. pope and patriarch of the great city of Alexandria. Preserve him to us, through many years and peaceful times, so that he may perfectly fulfil the holy high priesthood (or pontificate) which thou hast committed to him, according to thy holy and blessed will, rightly dispensing the word of truth, and feeding thy people in holiness and righteousness: together with all orthodox bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and with the plenitude of thy holy, only, catholic and apostolic Church: benignly granting to them and to us, perpetual peace and health.'

I need not tell you, brethren, that your liturgies, all over the world, contain a prayer of the above character for the pope of Rome; but the proof here furnished is conclusive evidence that the primitive Church knew nothing of such a custom; since at so late a day as the close of the fourth century, the pope of Rome had no distinct place in the devotions of the Church at Alexandria. If your chief pontiff was then universally regarded as you imagine, how, I beseech you, could it have been, that a liturgy providing so honorable a place for the pope of Alexandria, should have omitted all mention of that 'Vicar of Christ' who was, *by divine appointment*, the supreme pastor of the whole Church—the chief ruler over all?

Let me proceed, however, to another passage, where Basil laments the distracted state of the Church, and accounts for it, in terms altogether irreconcilable with your doctrine. The extract is long, but it will abundantly repay an attentive perusal.

pis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, cum omni plenitudine sanctae, solius, Catholicae et Apostolicae tuae Ecclesiae: pacem et sanitatem ipsis et nobis benigne concedens, diebus omnibus.

(215) 'By the favor and benignity of the most High God,' saith our author, 'through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from the operation of the Holy Spirit, I was liberated from the false doctrines of the Gentiles, and educated from the first, by Christian parents, from the ancient original, and from a boy was taught by them the sacred Scriptures, which led me to the knowledge of the truth. But when I came to maturity, travelling abroad, and conversant, as may well be believed, in many kinds of business, I observed that in all other arts and sciences there was the utmost concord amongst those who diligently cultivated them; while, on the contrary, in the only Church of God, for which Christ died, and upon which he poured out so abundantly the Holy Spirit, I saw many differing most widely, not only among themselves, but also in the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures. And, what chiefly alarmed me, I found the very bishops of the Church fixed in such a diversity of opinion and sentiment among themselves, so hos-

(215) Basil. Præmium de judicio Dei. § 1. Tom. 2. p. 213.

• Optimi Dei benignitate ac humanitate, per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu-Christi, ex Spiritus Sancti operatione, a falsa quidem Gentilium traditione ac doctrina liberatus, ab antiqua vero origine et ab initio a Christianis parentibus educatus, vel a puero didici ab ipsis litteras sacras, quæ me ad veritatis cognitionem adduxerunt. Ubi vero ad virilem ætatem perveni, tunc sæpius peregrinatus, et in pluribus, ut credi par est, negotiis versatus, in caeteris quidem artibus et scientiis maximam inter eos qui illarum quasque diligenter excolebant, concordiam animadverti: contra vero, in sola Dei Ecclesia, pro qua Christus mortuus est, et super quam largè Spiritum Sanctum effudit, multos vidi et inter se, et in divinis litteris intelligendis valde admodum dissentire. Et quod maxime horrendum est, reperi ipsos Ecclesiæ præfectos in tanta inter se sententiæ ac opinionis diversitate constitui, sicque Domini nostri Jesu Christi mandatis adversari, Deique Ecclesiam tam immisericorditer dilacerare, tamque crudeliter obturbare ejus gregem, ut, exortis Anomæis, nunc, si unquam alias, in ipsis quoque impleatur illud: *Ex vobis ipsis exurgent viri loquentes perversa, ut abducant discipulos post se.*

tile to the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, lacerating with so little pity the Church of God, and so cruelly troubling his flock, that now, if ever, the Anomœans *seemed to have arisen, in whom that prophecy was fulfilled: *And also of yourselves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, that they might draw away disciples after them.*'

'When I beheld these and other things of the like description,' continues Basil, 'and was perplexed to discover the cause of so much evil, I lived some time as if in profound darkness, and in a balance; now inclining on one side, and then upon the other, at one time drawn away by regard for the long established customs of men, and again influenced by the truth which I had learned from the Holy Scriptures. But after I had remained for a long while in this condition, and had looked diligently into the cause of which I have

§ 2. 'Hæc atque ejusdem generis alia cum intuerer, prætereaquæ cum dubitarem quæ et unde esset tanti mali causa; primùm quidem quasi in profundis tenebris degebam, et tamquam in statera constitutus, modo huc modo illuc propendebam, quòd alius aliò aut ad seipsum me traheret, ob diutinam hominum consuetudinem, aut rursus aliò propelleret, ob eam quam in divinis Scripturis agnovissem veritatem. Cum autem in eo statu diu permansissem, et eam quam dixi causam diligenter perscrutarer, mihi in mentem venit libri Judicum, qui narrat unumquemque fecisse quod in oculis suis rectum erat atque etiam causam ejus rei declarat, his verbis: *In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel.* Horum igitur cum mihi in mentem venisset, illud quoque de præsentium rerum statu excogitavi: quod fortè dictum quidem horrendum est et mirabile, sed tamen, si intelligatur, verissimum est. Num videlicet inter alumnos Ecclesie tanta hæc discordia ac pugna hodieque exoritur ob unius magni verique et solius universorum regis ac Dei contemptum, cum quisque deserat Domini nostri Jesu Christi doctrinam, et quasdam ratiocinationes ac regulas peculiare suapte auctoritate sibi arroget, malitque adversus Dominum imperare quàm a Domino regi.'

* The original Greek is very expressive, signifying, as you know, brethren, those who were *unlike each other*; instead of being according to the rule of the Gospel, '*of the same mind.*'

spoken, the book of Judges came into my mind, which relates how every man did that which was right in his own eyes, and likewise declares the cause of this thing in these words : *In those days there was no king in Israel.* When I recollected this, I thought the same might be applied to the present state of things : which is verily fearful and wonderful to tell, and yet, if it be rightly understood, is most true. For does not the discord and contention which exist at this day throughout the Church, arise from their contempt of that One great, true, and only King and God of the Universe, while every one deserts the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and undertakes to establish arguments and rules by his own authority, and chooses rather to govern against the Lord, than to be ruled by the Lord ?

In this extract, brethren, it seems impossible to avoid seeing that there was no consolidated empire over the whole Church conceded to any particular bishop, during the days of Basil. He deploras the divisions, the distractions, the contentions, in which the bishops themselves were engaged. But he makes no allusion to the authority of the Vicar of Christ, before whose infallible tribunal every dispute and controversy should have been hushed into silence and peace. He attributes the wretched state of the Church to the same cause which the book of Judges assigns for the condition of Israel : Every man did that which was right in his own eyes, because there was no king, no supreme governor, no chief ruler. But he is so far from referring to the supremacy of any earthly vicegerent, that he expressly applies his observation to the King of kings ; saying, that men were in strife through contempt of God, the only Sovereign, and that they preferred ruling against the Lord Jesus Christ, rather than be governed by him. What can more plainly prove the non-existence of your present doctrine at that day ? Is

it not precisely in times of anarchy and confusion, that the lovers of order insist most upon the rights of governors? And if the Catholic Church had then acknowledged an universal pope, who *held the place of the true God upon the earth*, as your Canon law asserts, and to whom, in the words of your Doway Commentary, Christ had given *the plenitude of power*, how should the great Basil, himself an Archbishop, have complained of the contentions which distracted the Church, without one word of reference to the only appointed and authoritative mode by which they could have been appeased?

The same topic occurs with melancholy frequency in many other parts of the works of our author; but it may be more satisfactory if I turn to some passages, which apply to a different point in the question before us.

You know that Basil flourished after the division of the Roman empire, that the Eastern emperor Valens favoured Arianism, and that Basil's orthodoxy exposed him to no small measure of persecution. The state of the Church was of necessity exceedingly troubled, and moved him to continual lamentations and regrets. Amongst the means which he thought likely to be of service, we find him writing to Athanasius, the celebrated bishop of Alexandria, whose testimony we have already examined, in order to engage him to interest the bishops of the Western empire, on behalf of their Eastern brethren. From this epistle I shall extract some paragraphs worthy of your serious attention.

(216) 'I have of late,' saith Basil, addressing Athanasi-

(216) Basil. Ep. Athanasio Episcopo Alexandriae. Op. om. Tom. 3. p. 159. 'Dudum novi et ipse pro mediocri mea rerum notitia, unam esse ecclesiis nostris auxilii viam, si nobiscum conspirent Occidentales episcopi. Nam si voluerint, quod adhibuerunt studium in uno aut altero, perverse in Occidente sentire deprehensis, illud etiam pro nos-

us, 'bethought me, according to my moderate knowledge of things, of one way by which our Churches might be aided, if the Western bishops would consent with us. For if they were willing to shew for the sake of our diocese, the care which they have used towards those who have been detected in one heresy or another, in the West ; perhaps it might yield some benefit to the common welfare, the emperor reverencing the authority of numbers, and the people every where being disposed to follow the majority without hesitation. But who is more influential in performing such a design than thee? Who is more acute in the discovery of what is expedient? Who more efficient in performing what is profitable? Who more prone to grieve for the afflictions of his brethren? What is more highly venerated than thy hoary head, by the whole Western Church? Leave then some memorial of thy mode of life to mortals, O most honored father. Adorn thine innumerable labors in the cause of piety, by this one deed: send some men from thy Church, who are powerful in sound doctrine, to the Western bishops: explain to them the calamities with which we are oppressed: suggest the method of relief: thou mayest become a

trarum partium parcœcia ostendere ; fortasse rebus communibus nonnihil accesserit utilitatis, Imperatore multitudinis auctoritatem reverens et populis ubique ipsos sine dubio sequentibus. Quis autem ad hæc perficienda potentior est prudentia tua? Quis ad videndum quid deceat acutior? quis ad perficienda quae prosunt efficacior? Quis ad dolendum ex fratrum afflictione propensior? Quis perquam reverenda canitie tua Occidenti toti venerabilior? Relinque aliquod monumentum mortalibus, tua vivendi ratione dignum, pater in primis venerande. Innumeros illos pro pietate exantlatos labores hoc uno facto exorna: mitte aliquos ex sancta tua ecclesia viros in sana doctrina potentes ad Occidentales episcopos: expone illis calamitates quibus premimur: suggere modum opis ferendae: fias Samuel ecclesiis: affligere una cum populis bello pugnatis: offer pacificas preces: pete gratiam a Domino, ut aliquod pacis monumentum ecclesiis immittat.' &c.

Samuel to the Churches: be afflicted together with those who are involved in war: offer thy prayers for peace: ask favor from the Lord, that he may graciously appoint to us some memorial of peace.'

In this passage, brethren, you clearly see how distinct were the Churches of the Eastern empire from those of the West, in the days of Basil. There is not, here, the least allusion to the authority of one common ruler at Rome, but a strong appeal to Athanasius, at Alexandria, to excite a movement among the bishops of the West in general, which might favorably influence the Eastern emperor and the people at large. It was to be a voluntary effort throughout. It depended, for its execution, on the disposition of Athanasius, on the disposition of the West, and finally, on the disposition of the emperor and the Eastern Christians. But if, as you suppose, the whole Church throughout the world was placed from the beginning, by *divine authority*, under the government of Peter and of the Roman bishop, what had Basil to do with beseeching Athanasius to excite the compassion of the western bishops in his behalf? In such a case, he would have had a legal right to the protection of Rome, and could not have anticipated the want of willingness on the part of the western bishops to take the same care of heresy in the East that they had done in the West among themselves. So that we have, here, the plainest evidence that there was no such thing as Roman supremacy over the Catholic Church in the mind of Basil; that the dominion of one Church as the mother and mistress Church of the whole Christian world, was perfectly unknown to him; and that the patriarchs of the East and the West could not affect each other by any ecclesiastical rule of subordination, but only by that influence which sympathy produces amongst bodies mutually independent and free.

There are several other epistles on the same subject, addressed to the bishops of Italy and Gaul, and one addressed to Damasus, then bishop of Rome; in all of which there is the same evidence of principle and polity, and the same absence of ecclesiastical rule and domination. The appeal in every instance is made to charity, to Christian love, and to Christian influence; and in none of them do I find a sentence of warrant for your present doctrine.

The other passage which I designed to cite from this epistle, will shew you how Basil was accustomed to speak of other Churches. Recommending in the first place, as demanding the earliest attention of Athanasius, the condition of the Church at Antioch, he says: (217) 'For what do the Churches of the whole world contain, preferable to that of Antioch? Wherefore, if that Church is brought back to peace, nothing can hinder, but that *the head* being strengthened will supply health to the whole body.' Did Basil know any thing of Roman supremacy, or believe that the Church of Rome was the mother and mistress of the whole Christian world, when he wrote this passage? And again, in another of his epistles, he calls the Church of Nicopolis (218) '*the mother Church*,' clearly shewing the equality of the great dioceses of the Christian world in that day, and that the confining these phrases to the Church of Rome, and the dominion claimed for her over the Church Universal, were no parts of Basil's system.

But it may be well to cite the opinion of Basil on an in-

(217) Ib. 'Quid autem habeant orbis terrarum ecclesiæ, quod præferendum sit Antiochiæ? quam si contingeret ad concordiam redire, nihil impediret, quominus velut caput corroboratum universo corpori sanitatem suppeditet.'

(218) Ib. Ep. Clericis Coloniensibus. p. 350. 'Cavete litigetis cum vestra matre Ecclesia Nicopolitana:' and in the next epistle, '*Ad Coloniæ magistratibus*,' he calls that Church '*teneram matrem*,' &c.

cidental question of Roman authority. The passage occurs in his epistle to Amphilochius concerning the canons; and it will probably aid you in discerning the independence of the Churches. It is as follows:

(219) 'The Encratites, the Saccophori, and the Apotactitæ,' saith our author, 'are not subject to the same rule as the Novatians, because a canon has been declared concerning them, although various; but what concerns the others has been past by in silence. Nevertheless we rebaptize such according to the one manner. But if rebaptization is prohibited with you, as it is among the Romans, yet for the sake of a certain order, let our mode prevail.' I do not see, brethren, how this passage can be brought to accord with your favorite doctrine. For, manifestly, if Rome was held, by Basil, to be the mother and mistress of all the Churches, and if every ecclesiastical question, according to your canon law, was then to be decided at the tribunal of her bishop, a prohibition of rebaptization amongst the Romans could not be made consistent with an allowance of it amongst the Greeks.

Let us next inquire into Basil's mode of speaking of General Councils. And this we are able to ascertain with reasonable certainty from a passage in which he mentions the great Council of Nice, but not in terms which seem at all consistent with your doctrine.

(220) 'We are the heirs of those fathers,' saith he, 'who

(219) Ib. p. 296. 'Encratitæ, et Apotactitæ non subjiciuntur eidem rationi, cui et Novatiani, quia de illis editus Canon, etsi varius; quæ autem ad istos pertinent, silentio sunt prætermisse. Nos autem una ratione tales rebaptizamus. Quod si apud vos prohibita est rebaptizatio, sicut et apud Romanos, œconomix alicujus gratia, nostra tamen ratio vim obtineat.'

(220) Ib. p. 145. 'Siquidem et eorundem patrum hæredes sumus, qui quondam Nicaeae magnum pietatis præconium promulgarunt: cu-

formerly promulgated at Nice that great proclamation of piety; of which the other parts, truly, are above the reach of calumny, but the word *consubstantial*, being badly understood by some, there are those who do not yet receive it, whom any one may indeed censure justly, and again may judge them worthy of pardon. For not to walk in the footsteps of the fathers, nor to submit our opinion to their stronger voice, is a thing worthy of reprehension, as being full of arrogance. While, on the other hand, to hold in suspicion a word which has been condemned by others, seems in a certain aspect of the subject to be somewhat excusable.'

Does this language correspond, brethren, with your present system, which arrogates the dignity of Holy Scripture to the decrees of this and the other General Councils of the Church; on the ground, that those decrees are, equally with Scripture, the dictates of the Holy Ghost, and consequently infallible? Did Basil think that the Nicene Creed was inspired, when he claimed pardon for those who condemned the most important word in the whole formulary? Did he hold it to be the work of the Holy Ghost, when he censured those who liked it not, as being 'full of arrogance, because they walked not in the steps of their fathers?' Only imagine, brethren, one of yourselves, writing in favor of the Council of Nice in terms so moderate as these, and say, whether the appellation of heretic would not be the immediate fruit of his presumption?

jus reliquae quidem partes calumniae nulli obnoxiae sunt; sed vocem consubstantialis male a nonnullis acceptam, sunt qui nondum receperint: quos quis et jure [δίκαιως] reprehenderit, ac rursus venia dignos judicavit. Nam Patrum vestigiis non insistere, nec sua sententia vocem illorum potiore ducere, res est reprehensione digna, ut plena arrogantiae. Rursus autem vituperatam ab aliis vocem, suspectam habere videtur id quodam modo mediocrem illis excusationis veniam conciliare.'

It is to be remembered, however, in justice to your doctrine, that there is another passage in which Basil approaches your ideas much more closely. It is in his epistle to Cyriacus; where he exhorts that the brethren at Tarsus should profess the faith, (221) 'as set forth,' saith he, 'by our fathers, who formerly came together at Nice. Neither do ye reject any word in it, but know that those three hundred and eight fathers who agreed without contention, spake not without the operation of the Holy Spirit; and you may add also to this faith that it is not fit to call the Holy Spirit a creature, nor to hold communion with those who do so.' &c.

You would, of course, infer from these words, that Basil claimed the infallibility of inspiration for the Council of Nice. And yet, in truth, his phraseology imports no such thing. For, I beseech you, cannot you say as much for every minister of Christ, yea, for every private Christian, that he sets forth his faith 'not without the operation of the Holy Ghost;' or, if you please, in still stronger words, that he does it 'by the operation of the Holy Ghost.' If this be doubtful, ask St. Paul what he means by declaring: (1 Cor. xii, 3.) '*No man can say, the Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Ghost.*' Surely then, it is most manifest that the language of Basil, fairly interpreted, amounts to nothing more than that which we all admit: namely, that the Creed of the Nicene Council was an exposition of the true faith, agree-

(221) Ib. p. 207. 'Ut fidem a patribus nostris, qui Nicaeae quondam convenerunt, editam profiteamini, nullamque in ea vocem rejiciatis, sed sciatis trecentos decem et octo patres, qui citra contentionem convenerunt, non sine Spiritus Sancti *afflatu*,' [Gr. 'Ἐνεργεῖα, signifying *action, operation*, which your translator has turned into a word bearing the sense of *inspiration*] 'locutus esse, atque illud etiam huic fidei addatis, Spiritum Sanctum creaturam dici non oportere, nec cum iis qui dicunt, communicandum,' &c.

ble to Scripture ; and that as the operation and influence of the Spirit is present with every man who confesses the true faith, so we doubt not that his special influence was granted abundantly to that venerable assembly of the holy men of old. Yet this does not raise their words to the dignity of Scripture. And if Basil had supposed otherwise, I think he would hardly have suggested an addition to the creed on the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit, as we see he did in the passage before us, as well as in other parts of his works. For if no Christian man was ever yet known to propose an addition to the inspired volume, so I cannot believe that Basil would have been so presumptuous as to propose an amendment to the Nicene Creed, had he really imagined it to be the dictate of the Holy Spirit, and therefore equal in dignity to the word of God.

On the whole, therefore, brethren, the testimony of Basil admits of no construction that is not, according to my small judgment, in direct conflict with your claims. And hence, I conceive myself entitled to rank him amongst the witnesses which prove your departure from the primitive system.

CHAPTER XXV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Amongst the interesting circumstances in the life of Basil the Great, you are aware that his strong attachment to Gregory Nazianzen is conspicuous. We apply, therefore, to this cotemporary and friend of our last witness, to furnish our next testimony on the doctrine of Roman supremacy.

And first, let us hear him on the subject of the apostles. (222) 'Dost thou desire,' saith he, after discoursing largely on the Aaronic priesthood, 'that I should also set forth another example of order and discipline, and one, truly excellent and admirable, and worthy of the highest commemoration and regard at the present day? Thou seest that among the disciples of Christ, who were all, indeed, great and chiefest, and deserving such election, this one is called a rock, and receives in faith, the foundations of the Church; another is loved more exceedingly, and reclines upon the breast

I quote your own latin version, as before, only inserting the Greek where emendation may seem necessary.

(222) Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 26. Ed Paris, A. D. 1609, p. 453—4.

'Vis aliud quoque ordinis et disciplinae exemplum in medium proferam, idque praeclarum et laudabile, ac praesenti commemoratione atque admonitione in primis dignum? Vides quemadmodum ex Christi discipulis, magnis utique omnibus et excelsis, atque electione dignis, hic petra vocetur, atque Ecclesiae fundamenta in fidem suam recipiat.

[Gr. τοῖς θεμελίοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας πιστεύεται, i. e. *believes in the foundations of the Church*, which your translator renders; *receives in faith the foundations of the Church*. I have taken his version, however; al-

of Jesus, and the other disciples endure the preference bestowed upon these with an equal mind. Again, when Christ was about to ascend into the mount, that he might shew his glory in corporeal form, and manifest his divinity, and un-clothe himself of the fleshy covering, who ascended the mount with him? (for all were not admitted to behold this miracle) Peter, John, and James, who were before the others, and were reckoned so. Again, when depressed in mind, and withdrawing himself a little before his passion, commending those who were present to labor in prayer, who were taken with him? The same three. And this was the preference and choice of Christ. But how great was the modesty and order of the rest? Peter asks one thing, Philip another, Judas another, Thomas another, and any one else another; neither do all ask the same, nor does one ask every thing; but each by turns, and severally. You will here say, perhaps, that each asked what he had need of. How should it seem so? Philip desires to say somewhat,

though the original does not warrant it: because in the result the difference is but a trifle.] *‘ille impensius ametur, et supra pectus Jesu requiescat, ac reliqui discipuli eos sibi præferri æquo ferant. Jam cum in montem ascendendum fuisset, ut Christus corporea forma splenderet, ac divinitatem suam patefaceret, eumque, qui carne tegebatur, nudaret, atque aperiret, quinam simul ascendunt? [Nec enim omnes ad hujus miraculi spectaculum admittuntur] Petrus, Johannes et Jacobus, qui ante alios, et erant, et numerabantur. Rursus cum animi anxio, et paulò ante passionem secedenti, ac precibus operam danti quosdam adesse oporteret, quinam ad eam rem asciti sunt? Iidem illi. Atque hæc Christi prælatio et electio fuit. Quid? reliqua moderatio ordinisque disciplina, quanta? Aliud Petrus interrogat, aliud Philippus, aliud Judas, aliud Thomas, aliud alius quispiam, neque aut idem omnes, aut omnia unus, sed vicissim quisque, ac sigillatim. Dices hic fortasse, hoc singulos quævisisse, quod cuique opus erat. Quid? Quale illud tibi videtur? Philippus quiddam dicere gestit, nec solus audet, verùm Andream quoque adhibet. Petrus aliquid percunctari cupit, et Joannem capitis nutu proponit. Ubi hic morositas? Ubi dominandi libido?’*

but he dares not alone, and therefore brings Andrew with him. Peter wishes to make an inquiry, and procures John to do it, by a motion of the head. Where, in all this, is any austerity? Where, any lust of domination?

There is surely nothing in this interesting passage, brethren, that can be rendered consistent with the idea of Peter's single government over the other apostles. Gregory considers Peter, John, and James, as the distinguished three; even as St. Paul had said, that the same three 'seemed to be pillars.' Of these, he gives no authority to one over the others; but praises the general equality which reigned throughout the whole. How unlike the style in which an advocate of your present system would treat the subject, I need hardly say.

In the second place, however, let me cite our witness on the mode in which it was customary to speak of the various important Sees of the Church.

In his nineteenth oration, for example, he says that the Church of Nazianzum, of which his father was bishop, and himself coadjutor, should be called, (223) 'The new Jerusalem, a second ark rising above the waves, like that of the great Noah, the second parent of the world.' And proceeding in the same strain, he adds that 'this Church surpasses others in celebrity, as much as they surpassed it in numbers; being in this respect like Bethlehem, which, although it was a little city, was yet the metropolis of the

(223) *Ib.* p. 297. 'Ut nova Hierusalem, ac secunda quædam arca undis emineus quemadmodum illa magui illius Noe, secundique hujus mundi parentis, hæc Ecclesia [sc. Nazianzena] vocaretur,'—'Quantumque aliis numero cedebat, tanto eas nominis celebritate vinceret, idemque ipsi usu veniret, quod Bethlehem accidisse videmus, quam nulla res prohibuit, quominus simul, et parva civitas esset, et totius terrae metropolis, utpote Christi orbis conditoris ac victoris, parentem atque nutricem.

whole earth, by reason of its being the parent and the nurse of Christ, the Creator and Conqueror of the world.' But not only in this instance does the testimony of the fathers claim for other Churches the high encomiums which your system would fain monopolize for Rome; since I find the elder Gregory using expressions still stronger in favor of the Church of Cesarea. The passage occurs in an epistle, written to that Church for the purpose of commending Basil to their choice as their bishop; inasmuch as Gregory was prevented by sickness from visiting them in person. (224) 'Moreover,' saith he, 'while we should regard all the Churches with the utmost care and solicitude, as being the body of Christ, yet should we chiefly thus regard your Church, which was not only the *mother of almost all the Churches from the beginning*, but is so now, and is so considered; towards which the *whole christian commonwealth turns its eyes*, even as the circumference of a circle to its centre; not only on account of the soundness of the faith hitherto preached to all, but also on account of the grace of unity, granted to her, beyond doubt, by the divine favor.' Greatly, brethren, am I mistaken with respect to the meaning of words, if this passage does not far exceed any thing which we have yet met with, in favor of the Church of Rome.

Under this head, I only add two examples of the phrase *Catholic Church*, applied by Gregory, in his last will and

(224) Greg. Naz. Epist. Ib. p. 785. D. 'Porrò cùm omnibus Ecclesiis, tanquam Christi corpori, summa cura et solitudine prospiciendum sit, tum maximè vestræ, quæ omnium ferè Ecclesiarum mater et antiquitus,' [Gr. 'απ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning*] 'fuit, et nunc est, atque censetur, et ad quam tota Respublica Christiana oculos conjicit, haud secus ac circulus centro circumscriptus, non modò propter fidei integritatem jam olim omnibus prædicatam, sed etiam ob concordie gratiam, divino haud dubiè beneficio ipsi concessam.'

testament, to the Church at Nazianzum, and the Church at Constantinople. (225) 'I Gregory, bishop of the Catholic Church of Constantinople,' direct 'that my heir shall restore all my goods moveable and immoveable, to the holy Catholic Church of Nazianzum,' &c. This, in itself, is a very small matter; but I think it worth remarking, because there is no one circumstance which tends to give so great an appearance of weight to your claims, as the mode in which your writers appropriate the term *Catholic*, to the Church of Rome; thereby making the ancient fathers seem to speak of your particular Church, when, in truth, they were thinking only of the orthodox Church at large, *as opposed to heresy*. In justice to the primitive writers, it should be well understood, therefore, that when the fathers use the phrase *the holy Catholic Church*, they mean *the orthodox Church throughout the world*, without relation to any particular place whatever. But when they intend the orthodox Church of a special diocese, they say *the Catholic Church of that diocese*, as in the case before us. For inasmuch as heresy and schism always began amongst a small number, the fact that the general, universal, or *Catholic* faith stood in opposition to them, was always urged in the beginning of innovation, as a strong argument on the side of truth; and the *Catholicism* or universality of Christian doctrine became synonymous with its *orthodoxy*. This, I apprehend to be the true reason, why the Nicene Creed continued to be called the Catholic faith, even when Arianism triumphed. There was a time, you remember, when the saying was current: *Athanasius against the world*: so vast was the

(225) Appen. op. Greg. Naz. 'Gregorius Episcopus Catholicæ Constantinopolis Ecclesiæ, vivens et prudens, sanoque judicio,' &c.——
'Ita quidem, ut ipse meam omnem substantiam, mobilem et immobilem, sanctæ Catholicæ Nazianzi Ecclesiæ restituat,' &c.

majority which seemed to favor the heresy of Arius. Yet even then, the *Catholic* fathers used the same phraseology as before, meaning, not the faith which was universal at that particular period, but the faith which had been universal in the beginning. By the very same authority, that portion of the Church which accords with the primitive system now, has the best right to be called *the Catholic Church*, even if, numerically, it were the smallest body in Christendom.

But let me hasten to the third point which our present witness testifies, viz, the torn and divided state of the Church, which so clearly demonstrates the freedom exercised by all its parts to take their own course, without regard to the common 'mother and mistress,' to the pope of Rome, or any other supposed 'Vicar of Christ,' bearing the authority, 'not of a mere man, but of the true God upon the earth,' as your modern canon law expresses it. (226) 'The great heritage of God,' saith Gregory, 'acquired by the doctrine and precepts and torments of Christ, the holy nation, the royal priesthood, is ill at ease, distracted amongst six hundred opinions and errors: the vine from Egypt, that is, from dark and impious ignorance, transplanted, and grown to an immense size and proportion, has covered the whole earth, and has risen above the mountains and the cedars.' And again, saith he, (227) 'Grievous wolves, intercepting

(226) Ib. Orat. Vicesima, p. 345. C. 'Cumque magnam illam Dei hereditatem, ipsiusque (sc. Christi) doctrina et legibus atque cruciatibus acquisitam, gentem illam sanctam, regium Sacerdotium, male se habere atque in sexcentas opiniones et errores distractum esse; vineamque illam, quæ ex Ægypto, hoc est ex impia et caliginosa ignorantia, translata et transplantata fuerat, atque ad tam immensam pulchritudinem et magnitudinem pervenerat, ut terram universam operiret, ac supra montes et cedros-assurgeret,' &c.

(227) Ib. Orat. Vicesimatertia, p. 415. 'Gravesque lupi, alii aliunde

us on every side, tear the Church to pieces. Bishops are armed against bishops, people are opposed against people with a furious excitement. The emperor himself gives authority to impiety, and enacts laws against orthodox doctrine.' And again, (228) 'Even as the book of the Acts relates of the Athenians,' saith he, 'so we spend our time in nothing else but to say or hear some new thing. O what Jeremiah shall deplore our confusion and darkness, for he alone could pour forth lamentations worthy of our calamities.'

Brethren, if the prerogatives of Rome and her popes had then been allowed as you represent them, how could the Church and her bishops have become thus distracted and divided? And if Gregory had held your Creed in this respect, how could he have deplored such evils without insisting upon their only lawful remedy, namely, an immediate recurrence to the final sentence of the infallible judge, whom God himself had endowed with 'the plenitude of power?'

One passage more, however, from the writings of this celebrated father, will shew us, in the last place, what he thought on the subject of Councils. It occurs in the form of a letter, written to Procopius, as follows:

(229) 'I have resolved, if I may declare the truth, to

nos intercipientes, Ecclesiam discerpunt. Armantur sacerdotes adversus sacerdotes, plebs adversus plebem furibundo impetu fertur. Imperator ipse impietati auctoritatem præbet, atque adversus orthodoxam doctrinam leges instituit,' &c.

(228) 'Ib. p. 380. 'Quódque Actorum liber de Atheniensibus narrat, ad nihil aliud vacamus, quàm ut novi aliquid dicamus vel audiamus, O quis Hieremias confusionem nostram caliginemque deplorabit, qui solus lamentationes calamitatibus exæquare novit!

(229) Greg. Naz. Ep. Procopio. Op. om. p. 814. 'Ego, si vera scribere oportet, hoc animo sum, ut omnem Episcoporum conventum fugiam: quoniam nullius concilii finem lætum et faustum vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potius, quàm accessionem et incrementum

avoid henceforth every convention of bishops; because I have never yet seen a prosperous and happy conclusion of any Council; nor any that might not be said to have increased existing evils, rather than to have driven them away. For the pertinacious contentions and strifes of domination, (I pray you, do not consider me severe or uncharitable in writing thus) cannot be described in words: and any one who should offer his judgment to others, would find himself much more readily charged with his offence, than allowed to repress the offences of his associates. Wherefore I have deemed it best, that I should collect myself, and preserve the safety of my soul in solitude and peace. And truly, as I think, disease comes to my aid at this time, and so afflicts me, that I almost expect every day to breathe my last; nor do I find any remedy of use to me. On this account, therefore, I trust your magnanimity will excuse my absence; and will farther incline you to take pains, that our most pious emperor may not suppose me guilty of sloth and negligence, but may pardon my weakness: &c.

A declaration like this, brethren, coming from such high authority, might well be regarded as a serious impediment to the triumph of your system, since it strikes at the very root of your infallibility. It is no wonder, therefore, that your writers should endeavor to evade its force. A speci-

habuerit. Pertinaces enim contentiones et dominandi cupiditates [ac ne me quæso gravem et molestum existimes, hæc scribentem] ne ullis quidem verbis explicari queant: citiusque aliquis improbitatem arcessetur, dum aliis iudicem se præbet, quàm ut aliorum improbitatem comprimat. Propterea memetipsum collegi, animæque securitatem in sola quiete ac solitudine mihi positam iudicavi. Nunc verò huic quoque meo iudicio patronus morbus accedit, quippe qui me ita distorqueat, ut quotidie fere extremos spiritus essem, nec ulla re meipso uti queam. Atque ob hanc causam ignoscat mihi tua animi magnitudo: detque operam ne pietissimus imperator me inertiae atque ignavia condemnet, sed infirmitati ignoscat:'

men of their argument is very properly inserted, as an admonitory prologue to the epistle in question; and I present it to you, entire, for your greater satisfaction.

(230) 'Gregory,' saith your apologist, 'was called to a certain Council at Constantinople. Therefore he declares that he abhors all Councils of bishops, on account of the quarrels and contentions, in which they became mutually involved: and at the same time he excuses himself by reason of ill health. The authority of this epistle is abused by Calvin for the purpose of impugning Councils; but no pious mind should be moved thereat. For Gregory is not speaking of General Councils, but of certain Particular or Provincial ones. Otherwise he would contradict himself, since in many places he praises the Nicene Council to the skies, and he was himself a prime actor in the Council of Constantinople, which condemned and anathematized the Macedonians, who opposed the Holy Spirit.'

What think you, brethren, of this ratiocination? Gregory had attended many Councils; some General, some Provincial. For a long course of years he had been a spectator of their influence upon the Church, with the best possible opportunities of observation; since he was first, bishop of Nazianzum, and afterwards, bishop of Constantinople,

(230) *Ib.* Argumentum. 'Constantinopolim ad concilium quoddam vocabatur Gregorius. Ait igitur se ab omnibus Episcoporum conciliis abhorrere, propter rixas et contentiones, quibus inter se conflictantur: simulque valetudinem excusat. Hujus quidem epistolae autoritate ad Conciliorum oppugnationem Calvinus abutitur, sed neminem piolum movere debet. Nec enim de generalibus, sed de particularibus quibusdam conciliis loquitur. Alioqui enim secum ipse pugnaret, utpote qui pluribus locis Nicaenum concilium laudibus in cœlum ferat, et magna ipse pars fuerit Constantinopolitanae Synodi, in qua Macedoniani, qui Spiritui Sancto bellum indixerant, damnati atque anathemate percussi sunt.'

and was distinguished far more by his learning and his disinterestedness, than by his exalted station. And near the close of his life, he gives his true sentiments, in a private letter to a friend, declaring that he had resolved to avoid *all conventions of bishops*, for he had never seen *any Council* come to a prosperous conclusion, but on the contrary, thought they had increased the evils they were meant to cure. He accounts for this immediately by adding, that the *contentions and ambitious rivalry of the bishops could not be expressed in words*. And we are gravely told, in the face of all this, that Gregory did not mean *General Councils* at all,^a but only *Provincial Synods*! Because he praises the Creed of the Council of Nice, which was held before he was born, therefore he is not to be understood according to his own plain meaning when he declares, that *all* the Councils which *he had seen*, were productive of more evil than good! True, indeed, it is, that he was a prime actor, with others, in *General Councils*; not perhaps of choice, but of necessity; for these Councils were summoned by the emperors, and the bishops could not absent themselves, unless they were excused. And for this very reason it is—because he had been an active member of *General Councils*—that when he speaks thus disparagingly of *all* the Councils he had ever known, without excepting any, we are sure he must have included the *General Councils* amongst the rest. The modern distinctions then, which your canon law lays down, asserting that *General Councils* are not liable to sin or error, while *Provincial Councils* are subject to both, were surely not known in the days of Gregory. According to his experience, both were equally open to the strifes and quarrels of the bishops; both were equally liable to witness the most shameful contests for power; and from all Councils, without distinction or difference, he had equally resolved to absent himself, that he might possess his soul in peace.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

A very celebrated name stands next upon the list of your canonical favorites, Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, who boldly closed the doors of the Church against the emperor Theodosius himself, in the just administration of ecclesiastical discipline. From the works of this distinguished man, I proceed to cite some testimony on the point in question, which will shew how far his sentiments differed from your doctrine. Like Origen and others, Ambrose considered Peter as representing the Church, not with respect to any form of ecclesiastical polity, but as regarded the spiritual results of faith in securing the kingdom of heaven. Thus he declares, truly, that the Church was built on Peter, that he received the keys of the kingdom, &c. but withal asserts, that what was said to Peter was said to all the apostles; that the foundation of the Church was not on Peter's person, but on the faith which he professed; that the apostles were equal; nay, that all christians are as Peter, if they have the faith of Peter; so that while there are many passages in his writings, which, taken alone, seem to favor your system, the whole together is utterly opposed to it. But let him speak for himself, brethren, and judge accordingly.

In his elaborate discourses on the Psalms, for instance,

we read as follows: (231) ‘This is that Peter to whom Christ said: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.* Therefore, where Peter is, there is the Church: where the Church is, there is no death; but life eternal. And therefore he adds: *The gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* That blessed Peter, against whom the gates of hell prevailed not, did not close the gates of heaven against himself; but on the contrary destroyed the entrances of hell, and made manifest the entrances to heaven. Being, therefore, placed on earth, he opened heaven, and closed hell.’ The best commentary on his meaning here, will be obtained by comparing it with the following:

(232) ‘It is this Peter who answers for the other apostles, yea, before the others; and therefore he is called a foundation, because he professes to keep not only that which is proper to himself, but common to all. To him Christ declares that his Father had revealed it. For he who speaks the true generation of the Father, receives it not from flesh, but from the Father. **FAITH, THEREFORE, IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH:** for it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, that the gates of death should

(231) S. Ambros. Op. Ed. Benedict. Tom. 1. p. 879. F. [in Psal. xl. Enar. § 30.] ‘Ipse est Petrus cui dixit: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.* Ubi ergo Petrus, ibi Ecclesia, ibi nulla mors, sed vita æterna. Et ideo addidit: *Et porta inferi non prævalebunt ei: et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum.* Beatus Petrus, cui non inferorum porta prævaluit, non cæli portas se clausit; sed e contrario destruxit inferni vestibula, patefecit cælestia. In terris itaque positus cælum aperuit, inferos clausit.’

(232) Ib. Tom. 2. p. 711. (De Incarn. Sacram. Cap. 4. § 33.) ‘Hic est ergo Petrus qui respondit pro ceteris apostolis, imò præ ceteris; et ideo fundamentum dicitur, quia novit non solum proprium, sed etiam commune servare. Huic adstipulatus est Christus, revelavit Pater. Nam qui veram generationem loquitur Patris, a Patre adsumsit, non

not prevail against it: but the confession (of faith) overcame hell. And this confession does not exclude one heresy only; for since the Church, like a good ship, is often assailed by many waves, the foundation of the Church ought to prevail against all heresies.'

This, brethren, renders it perfectly manifest that Ambrose did not interpret your favorite texts of Scripture so as to draw from them any argument for Peter's supremacy. But our witness goes much farther in the following passages, to which I beg your serious attention. Addressing himself to Christians in general, he saith: (233) 'Believe therefore as Peter believed, that you also may be blessed, that you may deserve to hear: *Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven.* For WHOEVER OVERCOMES the flesh, IS A FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH: if he cannot equal Peter, he can imitate him: for the gifts of God are great, who has not only repaired in us what is ours, but has even vouchsafed to grant us what are his own.' And again: (234) 'The rock,' saith Ambrose, 'is Christ: For

sumsit ex carne.' § 34. 'Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum: non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictam est quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt: sed confessio vicit infernum. Et hæc confessio non unam hæresim exclusit; nam cum Ecclesia multis tamquam bona navis fluctibus sæpe tundatur, adversus omnes hæreses debet valere Ecclesiæ fundamentum.'

(233) Ib. Tom. 1. p. 1406. [Expositio Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. VI. § 94.] 'Crede igitur sic quemadmodum Petrus credidit, ut et tu beatus sis, ut et tu audire merearis: *Quoniam non caro et sanguis tibi revelavit, sed Pater meus qui in cælis est.*'

Ib. § 95. 'Qui enim carnem vicerit, Ecclesiæ fundamentum est: si æquare Petrum non potest, imitari potest: magna sunt enim Dei munera, qui non solum nobis quæ nostra fuerant reparavit, verum etiam quæ sunt sua propria concessit.'

(234) Ib. § 97. p. 1407. 'Petra est Christus: *Bibebant enim de Spirituali sequente petra, petra autem erat Christus:* etiam discipulo suo

they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ: And he has not denied to his disciple even the favor of this word, that he may also be a Peter, because from the rock he derives the solidity of perseverance, and the firmness of faith. Strive, therefore, that thou also mayest be a rock. And look for that rock, not without thee, but within. The rock is thine action, the rock is thy mind. Upon that rock thy house is built; that it may be struck by no spiritual wickedness. The rock is thy faith, faith is the foundation of the Church. If thou art a rock, thou shalt be in the Church; because the Church is upon the rock. If thou art in the Church, the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. The gates of hell, are the gates of death; but the gates of death can never be the gates of the Church.'

Doubtless, brethren, you recognise in these passages the ideas of Origen. And I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of adding somewhat more, that you may see the correspondence to be complete. (235) 'But what,' continues our author, 'are the gates of death, that is, the gates of hell, unless they be the several sins? If thou art a fornicator, thou hast

hujus vocabuli gratiam non negavit, ut et ipse sit Petrus, quod de petra habeat soliditatem constantiae, fidei firmitatem.'

Ib. § 98. 'Enitere ergo ut et tu petra sis. Itaque non extra te, sed intra te petram require. Petra tua actus est, petra tua mens est. Supra hanc petram aedificatur domus tua; ut nullis possit nequitiae spiritualis reverberari procellis. Petra tua fides est, fundamentum Ecclesiae fides est. Si petra fueris, in Ecclesia eris: quia Ecclesia supra petram est. Si in Ecclesia fueris, portae inferi non praevalerunt tibi. Portae inferi, portae mortis sunt: portae autem mortis, portae Ecclesiae esse non possunt.

(235) Ib. § 99. 'Quae autem sunt portae mortis, hoc est, portae inferi, nisi singula quaeque peccata? Si fornicatus fueris, portas mortis ingressus es. Si fidem laeseris, portas inferi penetrasti. Si peccatum mortale commiseris, portas mortis intrasti: sed potens est Deus, qui exaltet

entered the gates of death. If thou hast violated thy faith, thou hast gone through the gates of hell. If thou hast committed any mortal sin, thou hast passed the gates of death: but God is mighty, who exalteth thee from the gates of death; that thou mayest announce all his praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion. And the gates of the Church are the gates of chastity, the gates of righteousness, into which the just enter:’ &c. In all this, it is undeniable that Ambrose sustains most fully the authority of Origen, upon the points in question.

Another interesting passage occurs elsewhere; which may aid in shewing you the true sentiments of this eminent father. Speaking of David’s seeming violation of the ceremonial law, on the occasion mentioned by our Redeemer, Ambrose saith: (236) ‘But how should this observer and defender of the law eat, and also give to those who were with him, that bread which it was not lawful for any to eat except for the priests alone; unless he designed to shew by this figure, that the food of the priests was to be extended likewise to the people? whether because we ought all to imitate the sacerdotal life, or because all the sons of the Church are priests, for we are anointed to be a holy priesthood, offering ourselves as spiritual sacrifices unto God.’

But let us next look at a few examples of the mode in

te de portis mortis; ut annunties omnes laudes ejus in portis filiaë Sion. Portae autem Ecclesiae portae castitatis sunt, portae justitiae, quas justus intrare consuevit, &c.

(236) *Ib. (p. 1364) Lib. V. § 33. ‘Quomodo autem ille observator legis atque defensor, panes et ipse manducavit, et dedit iis qui secum erant, quos non licebat manducare nisi tantummodo sacerdotibus: nisi ut per illam demonstraret figuram, sacerdotalem cibum ad usum transiturum esse populorum? Sive quod omnes vitam sacerdotalem debemus imitari: sive quia omnes filii Ecclesiae sacerdotes sunt, unguimur enim in sacerdotium, offerentes nosmet ipsos Deo hostias spirituales.’*

which our witness speaks of Peter, in connexion with the other apostles; where, if I mistake not, their equality in office and in privilege will be clearly shewn.

Thus, arguing against the error of the Novatians, he saith: (237) 'To thee, said our Lord, I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that thou mayest loose and bind. Novatian did not hear this, but the Church of God heard it. *What is said to Peter, is said to the apostles.*'

Again: (238) 'For as Peter, James, and John, and Barnabas, seemed to be pillars of the Church, so also whosoever shall overcome the world, becomes a pillar of God.'

Again: (239) 'Therefore,' saith Ambrose, 'three are chosen who should ascend the mount—Peter went up, who received the keys of the kingdom, John also, to whom is committed the mother of our Lord: and likewise James, who first ascended the episcopal chair.'

Again: (240) 'Go,' saith he, 'to my brethren, that is, to those eternal gates, which were lifted up when they had seen Jesus. One eternal gate is Peter, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. John and James are eternal

(237) *Ib.* in *Psal.* 38. *Enarr.* (Tom I. p. 858) § 37. 'Tibi, inquit dabo claves regni cœlorum, ut et solvas et liges. Hoc Novatianus non audivit, sed Ecclesia Dei audivit —. Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur.'

(238) *Ib.* in *Psal.* 118. *Expositio*, (p. 1030) § 38. 'Nam sicut Petrus, Jacobus, et Johannes, et Barnabas columnæ esse videbantur Ecclesie; et quicumque vicerit hoc sæculum, fit columna Dei,' &c.

(239) *Ib.* *Expositio Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. VII.* § 9 p. 1413. 'Tres igitur eliguntur, qui adscenderent montem —. Petrus adscendit, qui claves regni cœlorum accepit: Johannes quoque, cui committitur Domini mater: Jacobus etiam, qui primus solium sacerdotale conscendit.'

(240) *Ib.* Tom. 2. p. 525. *De fide, Lib. IV. Cap. 2.* § 25. 'Vade ergo ad fratres meos, hoc est, ad illas portas æternales, quæ cum Jesum viderint, elevantur. Æternalis porta est Petrus, cui portæ inferi non praevalent. Æternales portæ Johannes et Jacobus, utpote

gates, inasmuch as they are the sons of thunder. The Churches are eternal gates, where the prophet, desiring to announce the praise of Christ, saith, *that I may announce all thy praise in the gates of the daughter of Sion.*'

In his treatise concerning the Holy Spirit, there are a few other passages, which ought perhaps to be presented; before we close this part of our witnesses testimony. They are as follows :

(241) 'Nor is this operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost found only in Peter, but the same unity of the divine work is revealed in all the apostles, as the authority of the heavenly Constitution.'

(242) 'Therefore we behold unity of government, unity of system, unity of bounty.'

(243) 'This is the heritage of apostolic faith and devotion, which may be gathered from the consideration of the acts of the apostles themselves. Therefore Paul and Barnabas obeyed the commands of the Holy Spirit. And all the apostles obeyed the same.'

(244) 'Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, although the one was the foundation of the Church, and the other a wise

fili tonitru. Æternales portæ sunt Ecclesiæ, ubi laudes Christi annuntiare propheta desiderans, dicit: Ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filie Sion.

(241) *Ib. p. 662. De Spiritu Sancto, Lib. 11. Cap. 13. § 148. 'Nec solum una operatio in Petro Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti invenitur, sed etiam in omnibus apostolis divinæ operationis unitas revelatur, et quedam supernæ constitutionis auctoritas.'*

(242) *Ib. p. 663. § 153. 'Unitas igitur imperii, unitas constitutionis, unitas largitatis.'*

(243) *Ib. p. 664. § 155. 'Haec est apostolicæ fidei et devotionis hereditas, quam licet et ex ipsorum apostolorum considerare actibus. Paruerunt ergo Paulus et Barnabas Sancti Spiritus imperatis. Paruerunt et omnes apostoli,' &c.*

(244) *Ib. § 158. 'Nec Paulus inferior Petro, quamvis ille Ecclesiæ*

architect, knowing how to establish the steps of those who believed: nor was Paul, I say, unworthy of the apostolic college, since he also may be compared with the first, and was second to none. For he who does not acknowledge himself inferior, makes himself equal.'

I trust, brethren, that I have furnished a sufficient number of extracts, to satisfy you with regard to the sentiments of this celebrated father upon the point before us. And yet there is abundant proof remaining unnoticed, of which my limits compel me to extract much less than I would otherwise rejoice to set before you. Our next quotation, however, I regard as peculiarly valuable, because it gives us not only a direct proof of the independence which Ambrose exercised with regard to the Church of Rome, but some other intimations deserving our best attention.

In a discourse upon the sacred ceremony of washing of feet, which was used in primitive days by many of the Churches, and was greatly esteemed by Ambrose, he saith: (245) 'We are not ignorant that the Church of Rome has not this custom, the example and form of which Church we follow in all things: this custom, nevertheless, of washing of feet, she does not retain. Behold, therefore, perhaps she has declined on account of the multitude. There are some, truly, who endeavor to excuse her by the

fundamentum, et hic sapiens architectus sciens vestigia credentium fundare populorum: Nec Paulus, inquam, indignus apostolorum collegio, cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus. Nam qui se imparem nescit, facit aequalem.'

(245) S. Ambrósii De Sacramentis. Lib. III. Cap. 1. § 5. Tom. 2. p. 362—3. '*Non ignoramus quod Ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam: hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, forte propter multitudinem declinavit. Sunt tamen qui dicant et excusare conentur quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est, non in baptisate, non in regeneratione: sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sint. Aliud est humilitatis*

plea, that this custom is not a sacred rite: it is not to be done in baptism, not in regeneration, but it is simply to be done to our guests, as a mark of hospitality. But it is one thing to perform an act in token of humility, and another thing to perform it in order to sanctification. Hear, therefore, how we prove this to be a sacred rite, in order to sanctification: *Unless I wash thy feet, (saith Christ) thou hast no part in me.* I do not speak thus, however, that I may censure others, but that I may commend my office. I desire in all things to follow the Church of Rome: but, nevertheless, we men have sense also; and therefore whatever is more correctly practised elsewhere, we are more correct in practising.'

(246) 'In this respect,' continues Ambrose, 'we follow the apostle Peter himself, we adhere to the example of his devotion. What can the Church of Rome say to this? For truly Peter the apostle, who was bishop of the Church of Rome, is our authority for this assertion. Peter himself saith: *Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.* Behold his faith.'

Now, here, brethren, we see distinctly the growth of your doctrine. The earlier writers do not set down Peter as bishop of Rome. You remember the testimony of Irenæus, whose catalogue was adopted by Eusebius, the ecclesiasti-

aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi quia mysterium est et sanctificatio: *Nisi laverō tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem.* Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, sed mea officia ipse commendem. In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam: sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodimus.'

(246) § 6. 'Ipsum sequimur apostolum Petrum, ipsius inhæremus devotioni. Ad hoc Ecclesia Romana quid respondet? Utique ipse auctor est nobis hujus adsertionis Petrus apostolus, qui sacerdos fuit Ecclesiæ Romanæ. Ipse Petrus ait: *Domine non solum pedes, sed etiam manus et caput.* Vide fidem.'

cal historian. But Cyprian, although a little earlier than Eusebius, favors the statement, being one of the latin fathers, and much more liable to the influence of the Roman See. Carthage was in this respect very differently situated from Cesarea. For a similar reason, Ambrose was likely to have felt the full power of Roman superiority. He was the bishop, as you know, of Milan—an Italian bishop—whose locality alone must have secured the highest measure of acquiescence in the opinions and claims of the mistress city. No wonder, therefore, that he desires in all things to follow the example and form of the Church of Rome. No wonder that he admits her claim to the episcopate of the apostle Peter. And yet, notwithstanding the attachment and devotion of Ambrose to the Church of Rome—mark it, brethren, I beseech you—he presumes to differ from her, to retain and practise a sacred ceremony which she had cast away, to argue against her openly in a public discourse, to charge her with declining after the multitude, and to prefer his own judgment and the custom of other Churches, on a point of sacred order, which he regarded as a means of sanctification; opposing to the opinion of Rome, the *Scripture*, and significantly asking: ‘*What can the Church of Rome say to this?*’

Truly, we who aim to be Catholics of the primitive stamp, ask no better rule than this example of your own sainted Ambrose. Honestly might we say, with him, ‘I desire to follow the Church of Rome in all things;’ provided we might be allowed, with him, to prefer the authority of Scripture to the practice of Rome, and to guard our Christian liberty by the noble declaration: ‘Nevertheless we men have sense also; and, therefore, whatever is more correct than the doctrine of Rome, we are more correct in retaining.’

There is yet, however, one document more, furnished by your authors under the authority of Ambrose, which I have examined with considerable interest. It is the record of the acts of the Council of Aquileia, held by the order of the emperors for the purpose of suppressing the Arian heresy, under Ambrose himself, who appears, throughout, as the presiding bishop, although his name stands second on the list of subscriptions, under that of the bishop of Aquileia. This was a Western Council, brethren, held in a city of Italy, before which were summoned several bishops accused of heresy. Two only appear to have attended, viz. Palladius and Secundianus, who were condemned unanimously. I cite the following passages from the record to prove that even a particular Council was held in Italy itself which the pope did not summon, over which he did not preside, and for a purpose which your canon law now refers solely to his tribunal, **BY DIVINE RIGHT.**

(247) At the opening of the Council, ‘Ambrose the bishop said: Our arbitrement upon this matter is to be confirmed by the imperial warrant, as it may be appointed.’

Accordingly, ‘The imperial warrant is recited in the Council.’ After which, ‘Ambrose the bishop said: Behold what our Christian emperor has determined. He desires not to injure the priesthood, and therefore he has constituted the bishops interpreters.’ Not one word occurs in the whole, recognizing or alluding to the pope of Rome.

The Arians being then called upon to answer, Palladius

(247) *Ib.* Tom. 2. p. 787. ‘Ambrosius episcopus dixit: Disceptationes nostræ ex re firmandæ sunt scripto imperiali, ut allegentur.’

‘Scriptum imperiale recitatur in Concilio,’ &c.

‘Ambrosius episcopus dixit: Ecce quod Christianus constituit imperator. Noluit injuriam facere sacerdotibus, ipsos interpretes constituit episcopos.’

refused, saying: (248) 'By your management it is contrived that this should not be a full and general Council: our colleagues therefore, being absent, we cannot answer.'

'Ambrose the bishop said: Who are your colleagues?

'Palladius replied: The eastern bishops.

'Ambrose the bishop said: since it has been the usage of latter times, that the eastern bishops, being resident in the region of the east, should hold Councils there, and the western bishops in the west; we, being settled in the western parts, have assembled at the city of Aquileia, according to the command of the emperor. However, the prefect of Italy has given orders, that if the eastern bishops chose to meet with us, they might do so: but as they know the custom that the eastern Councils should be held in the east, and the western in the west, therefore they have not thought fit to come.'

The Synodical epistle, addressed by the fathers of this Council to the emperors, commences in the following strain.

(249) 'To the most clement, most Christian, and most

(248) *Ib.* p. 788 § 6. Palladius dixit: Vestro studio factum est, ut non esset generale et plenum Concilium: absentibus consortibus nostris, nos respondere non possumus.

Ambrosius episcopus dixit: Qui sunt consortes vestri?

Palladius dixit: Orientales episcopi.

§ 7. Ambrosius episcopus dixit: Interim quia superioribus temporibus Concilium sic factum est, ut orientales in orientis partibus constituti haberent Concilium, occidentales in occidente; nos in occidentis partibus constituti, convenimus ad Aquileiensem civitatem, juxta imperatoris præceptum. Denique etiam præfectus Italiae litteras dedit, ut si vellent orientales convenire, in potestate haberent: sed quia scierunt consuetudinem hujusmodi, ut in oriente orientalium esset Concilium, intra occidentem occidentalium, ideo putaverunt non esse veniendum.

(249) *Ambros. op. Tom. 2. p. 806.*

'Imperatoribus clementissimis et christianis, beatissimisque princi-

blessed emperors and princes Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, the holy Council which is assembled at Aquileia,' (sendeth greeting:)

'Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has given you the Roman empire; and blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, who preserves your kingdom in his piety, in whom we give thanks to you, most clement princes, because you have proved the zeal of your faith, and have labored to convene a Council of bishops, to remove dissensions, and have so far honored the bishops in your condescension, that no one desirous to be present should be omitted, and that no one who was unwilling should be compelled.'

Now, brethren, I beseech you to transfer these proceedings to our day, and mark how utterly repugnant they would be to your modern system.

Would the pope endure the summoning a Council by the mandate of any sovereign, to try bishops accused of heresy, without reference to his authority?

Would an assembly of your bishops think it consistent with their obedience, to hold such a Council, for such a purpose and under such a warrant?

And if Ambrose, with all his disposition to acknowledge and favor the rights of the Church of Rome, acted and

pibus Gratiano, Valentiniano et Theodosio, sanctum Concilium quod convenit Aquileiæ.

Benedictus Deus pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui vobis Romanum imperium dedit; et benedictus dominus noster Jesus Christus unigenitus Dei Filius, qui regnum vestrum sua pietate custodit, apud quem gratias agimus vobis, clementissimi Principes, quod et fidei vestræ studium probavistis, qui ad removendas altercationes congregare studuistis sacerdotale Concilium, et episcopis dignatione vestra honorificentiam reservastis; ut nemo deesset volens, nemo cogeretur invitus.'

wrote as is here recorded, could he have known anything of the papal prerogative, as laid down in your canon law ?

Surely, brethren, I cannot err, in leaving these questions to be answered by any lover of candor and of truth.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

You will doubtless welcome the evidence of Jerome, whose name stands next in order upon our list, since he is so honored by your Canon law, that nothing but favor could be expected at his hands towards the claims of Roman Supremacy. Nor is it to be disputed, that in drawing to the close of the fourth century, we find increasing proofs of the advancement of those claims towards the zenith of their maturity ; although they were still very far from the point which they attained at a later day.

To do justice to this witness, I shall first state his strongest declarations in your favor from his famous letter to pope Damasus ; and then present to you his equally celebrated epistle to Evagrius. His comments on the passages of Scripture which you cite as the foundation of your claim will next demand notice ; and a few passages in which he calls Rome the mystic Babylon, and treats the peculiar customs of that Church with but small regard, will aid in determining the true aspect of his testimony.

I commence, then, with his letter to pope Damasus, which is as follows : viz. (250) ‘ Jerome to Damasus. Since the East, dashed together by the old madness of the

(250) S. Hieron. op. om. Ed. Franc. A. D. 1684. Tom. 2. p. 90.
‘ Hieronymus Damaso. Quoniam vetusto Oriens inter se populorum

people, tears piecemeal the seamless tunic and coat of the Lord: and the foxes destroy the vine of Christ, as among reservoirs worn out, which hold no water; and it is difficult to understand where the fountain sealed, the garden enclosed, may be found; therefore I have thought it best for me to consult the chair of Peter and the faith praised by the apostle's mouth; asking at this time food for my soul from the same quarter, where formerly I received the garments of Christ. For the vast extent of water and of land which lies between us, cannot keep me from seeking the pearl of price. *Wherever the body is, there are the eagles gathered together.* The prodigal son having wasted his patrimony, the heritage of the fathers is kept safely amongst you alone. There, the ground of the Lord with its prolific soil declares its purity by the return of an hundred fold: here, the grain, drowned in the furrows, degenerates into tares and straw. Now the sun of righteousness rises in the West: but in the East, that Lucifer who had fallen, has placed his throne above the stars. You are the light of the world; you are

furore collisus, indiscissam Domini tunicam et desuper textam, minutatim per frustra discerpit: et Christi vineam exterminant vulpes, ut inter lacus contritos, qui aquam non habent, difficile, ubi fons signatus, et hortus ille conclusus sit, possit intelligi: ideo mihi cathedram Petri et fidem apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam; inde nunc meae animae postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi. Neque vero tanta vastitas elementi liquentis, et interjacens longitudo terrarum, me a preciosae margaritae potuit inquisitione prohibere. *Ubi cumque fuerit corpus, illuc congregantur aquilae.* Profligato a sobole mala patrimonio, apud vos solos incorrupta patrum servatur haereditas. Ibi cespitem terra fecundo dominici seminis puritatem centeno fructu refert: hic obruta sulcis frumenta in lolium avenasque degenerant. Nunc in occidente sol justitiae oritur: in oriente autem Lucifer ille qui ceciderat, supra sidera posuit thronum suum. *Vos estis lux mundi, vos sal terrae, vos aurea vasa et argentea: hic testacea vasa vel lignea, virgam ferream et aeternum operiuntur incendium.* Quanquam igitur tui me terreat magnitudo, invitat tamen humanitas. A sacerdote victimam

the salt of the earth, you are vessels of gold and silver; here the vessels of earth and wood are shut up for the rod of iron and eternal fire. Notwithstanding, therefore, your greatness deters, yet your kindness invites me. With earnestness I ask a victim of salvation from the priest, the defence which the sheep requires from the shepherd. Let envy depart: let the ambition of the Roman chief be banished: I speak with the successor of the fisherman and a disciple of the cross. I who follow no primate except Christ, am united in communion to your blessedness, that is, to the chair of Peter: *on that rock* I know that *the Church is built*. Whoever eats the lamb out of that house, is profane. If any one was not in the ark of Noah, he must perish in the flood. And because, for my sins, I have dwelt in this wilderness which lies on the boundary between Barbary and Syria, and could not always seek the holy (counsel?) of the Lord from your holiness, through so great an intervening distance: therefore I follow hither your colleagues, the confessors of Egypt; and among the largest vessels, I lie hid in a little boat. I know nothing of Vitalis, of Meletius, of Paulinus. Whoever does not gather with thee, scatters: that is, whoever is not of Christ, is of Antichrist. For

salutis, a pastore praesidium ovis flagito. Faecessat invidia: Romani culminis recedat ambitio: cum successore piscatoris et discipulo crucis loquor. Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum, sequens, beatudini tuae, id est, cathedrae Petri communiione consocior: *super illam petram aedificatam ecclesiam* scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, prophanus est. Si quis in arca Noe non fuerit, peribit regnante diluvio. Et quia pro meis facinoribus ad eam solitudinem commigravi, quae Syriam juncto Barbariae fine disternat, nec possum sanctum Domini tot interjacentibus spatiis a sanctimonia tua semper expetere: ideo hic collegas tuos Ægyptios confessores sequor: et sub onerariis navibus, parva navicula delitescor. Non novi Vitalem, Meletium respuo, ignoro Paulinum. Quicumque tecum non colligit, spargit: hoc est, qui Christi non est, Antichristi est. Nunc igitur, proh dolor!

now,—O shame!—after the Nicene faith, after the Alexandrine decree, the west also concurring, the new phrase of three *hypostases* is exacted of me, a Roman, by the Campenses, and the chief of the Arians. What apostles, I pray, have disclosed these words? What new Paul, the master of the nations, has taught this doctrine? We may ask, what these three *hypostases* are supposed to mean? They say, three subsisting persons. We answer that we believe this. The sense does not content them, they insist upon the very words: because there lies hid I know not what poison, in the syllables. We cry aloud, If any one does not confess three hypostases, that is, three subsisting persons, let him be anathema. And because we do not pronounce their very words, we are adjudged heretics. But if any one, understanding the word *hypostasis* in the sense of *substance* or *essence*, saith that the hypostasis is not one, in three persons, he is an alien from Christ: and in this confession we are united with you, as though we were branded together.’

Here, brethren, you have the greater part of this celebrated document, to which your writers so triumphantly refer. And I do not hesitate to say, that if maturely considered,

post Nicaenam fidem, post Alexandrinum juncto pariter Occidente decretum, trium hypostaseon ab Arianorum pracsule et Campensibus novellum a me homine Romano nomen exigitur. Qui quaeso ista Apostolî prodidere? Quis novus magister gentium Paulus hæc docuit? Interrogemus, quid tres hypostases posse arbitrentur intelligi? Tres personas subsistentes aiunt. Respondemus, nos ita credere. Non sufficit sensus, ipsum nomen efflagitant: quia nescio quid veneni in syllabis latet. Clamamus, si quis tres hypostases, aut tria enypositata, hoc est, tres subsistentes personas non confitetur, anathema sit. Et quia vocabula non ediscimus, hæretici judicamur. Si quis autem hypostasin usian intelligens, non in tribus personis unam hypostasin dicit, alienus a Christo est: et sub hæc confessione vobiscum pariter cauterio unionis inurimur.’

it will be found to have no reference whatever to the real question at issue. That question is a question of Ecclesiastical polity or government. Your doctrine is, that the Church was built on Peter, personally and officially, as being the constituted chief and ruler, the vicar of Christ, to whom was committed the whole Church, apostles and all: that his supreme authority was transferred to his successors in the Roman See, which thenceforward became, by virtue of this transfer, the mother and mistress of all the Churches: and that, by necessary consequence, the being in communion with the Church of Rome, *as such*, is essential to the being a member of the Catholic Church. Whereas I shall shew you, distinctly, that Jerome did not hold your construction of the Saviour's address to Peter: that on the contrary he held the same which the fathers in general had held before him: viz. that the Church was built, not on Peter personally, but on the faith which he professed: that in consistency with this opinion, the expressions on which you rely in the above document, were not intended by Jerome to mean a personal communion with Damasus, as being the official successor of Peter—the pope of Rome—but a communion with him in that faith of Peter on which the Church was built; which faith, the Eastern Church, in the days of Jerome, had suffered to be almost overcome by Arianism, while the Western Church had continued to hold it uncorrupted and pure.

You will probably think that I have undertaken a rash enterprise. Give me your patient attention, brethren, and I promise you that it shall have a successful issue. It is only necessary that we examine Jerome's declarations in other parts of his works, and then we shall be able to do him justice in the interpretation of the place in question: for I hold it to be a sound rule, that as far as possible, we must

construe every author, so that he shall not appear to contradict himself.

I ask you, then, to turn to the epistle to Evagrius, which Calvin and his disciples have praised as loudly as your writers have lauded the other. And here we shall have a better view of Jerome's sentiments, because the very point of this epistle was one of *ecclesiastical polity*, whereas the burden of his letter to Damasus was a question of *faith alone*. The deacons of the Church of Rome, as you are aware, being limited to the number seven, had become arrogant and assuming, preferring themselves before the presbyters. Jerome reproves their presumption, and takes occasion to enlarge on the offices of bishop, priest, and deacon, with their relative powers; especially declaring his opinion as to the comparative authority of the Church of Rome. Of course, therefore, the very topic naturally led to the point under discussion; so that the sentiments of Jerome, when the epistle to Evagrius is well weighed, can hardly be mistaken.

The passages important to the argument are as follows, viz :

(251)—‘The Church of Rome is not to be thought one thing, and that of the whole world another. Gaul and Britain and Africa and Persia and the East and Judea and

Hieron. op. Tom. 2. p. 221. ‘Hieronymus Evagrío.’

(251) — ‘Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Galliæ et Britanniæ et Africa et Persis et Oriens et India et omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. Si autoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicumque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis: ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt. Sed dicis quomodo Romæ ad testimonium diaconi presbyter ordinatur? Quid mihi profers unus urbis consuetudinem?’

all the barbarian nations, adore also one Christ, and observe the same rule of truth. IF AUTHORITY IS SOUGHT FOR, THE WORLD IS GREATER THAN ONE CITY. *Wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis: HE IS OF THE SAME EXCELLENCY, OF THE SAME EPISCOPATE.* The power of wealth and the lowliness of poverty does not make a bishop either less or greater. But they are all the successors of the apostles. But you say, how is it that at Rome a presbyter is ordained upon the testimony of a deacon? Why do you urge to me the custom of a single city? The conclusion of the epistle is in these words: (252) 'And that we may know the apostolic traditions to have been drawn from the Old Testament, what Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the temple, the same let the bishops, the presbyters, and the deacons, claim to themselves in the Church.'

I shall not detain you by any remarks on this decisive passage, until I present to your attention the important testimony of our witness on the fundamental question; viz. how he considered the Church, as built on Peter. And here brethren, you will perhaps be somewhat surprized when you examine the proof which this *most blessed* of the fathers (according to your canon law) will afford us.

(253) 'You say,' says Jerome, 'that the Church is founded on Peter, *although the same thing is elsewhere done upon all the apostles, and all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so that the strength of the Church is con-*

(252) 1b. 'Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia.'

(253) Hieron. adversus Iovinianum, Lib. 1. op. om. Tom. 2 p. 26. H. 'At dicis, super Petrum fundata est Ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipi-

solidated upon them all alike : nevertheless, on this account one is elected amongst the twelve, in order that a head being constituted, the occasion of schism might be taken away.' In this passage we have the same doctrine that Cyprian laid down, though not so strongly. Jerome was a presbyter of the Church of Rome, and in that quarter, the primacy of Peter and its derivation to the pope of Rome might be expected to appear, in their most imposing form. Yet even here, your witness asserts a perfect equality amongst the apostles, in the fundamental point of the building of the Church upon them, and the giving them the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

Again, in his commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, we read as follows :

(254) 'On this rock the Lord founded his Church, from this rock the apostle Peter obtained his name.'—'The foundation which the apostle as an architect laid, is one, our Lord Jesus Christ : upon this foundation the Church of Christ is built.'

Again, in his commentary on the very words addressed by our Lord to Peter, Jerome declares : (255) 'As the

ant, et ex aequo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur : tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio.'

(254) Hieron. Com. in. Matthæum. Cap. VII. v. 61.

'Fundata enim &c.] 'Super hanc petram Dominus fundavit Ecclesiam, ab hac petra Apostolus Petrus sortitus est nomen.

Qui aedificavit &c.] 'Fundamentum quod Apostolus architectus posuit, unus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus : super hoc fundamentum aedificatur Christi Ecclesia.'

(255) Ib. Cap. XVI.

'Et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam] Sicut ipse lumen Apostolis donavit, ut lumen mundi appellarentur, cæteraque ex Domino sortiti sunt vocabula, ita et Simoni qui credebat in petram Christum, Petri largitus est nomen.

Lord gave light to the apostles, that they might be called the light of the world, so did they obtain other names from him, thus on Simon who believed in the rock Christ, the name of Peter is bestowed. And according to the metaphor of a rock, it is rightly said to him: I will build my Church on thee.'

Upon the words which follow: *And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*, Jerome saith, (256) 'I think the gates of hell are the vices and sins of men; or certainly the doctrines of heretics, by which men being allured are led to destruction.'

Upon the words, '*I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,*' Jerome's commentary is worthy of your particular notice. (257) 'Bishops and presbyters,' saith he, 'not understanding this passage, assume to themselves something of the superciliousness of the Pharisees, thinking that they can condemn the innocent and absolve the guilty, when, before God, it is not the sentence of the priests, but the life of the accused that is required. We read in *Levi-*

Ac secundum metaphoram petræ, recte dicitur ei: Ædificabo Ecclesiam meam super te.

(256) *Et portae inferi non praevalent adversus eam*] Ego portas inferi reor vitia atque peccata, vel certe hæreticorum doctrinas, per quas illecti homines ducuntur ad tartarum.

(257) '*Et dabo tibi claves regni cælorum, &c.*] Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solverese noxios arbitrentur, cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quaeratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi jubentur ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, et si lepram habuerint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant, non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos, sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus, quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi lepresum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic et hic alligat, vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus.'

ticus,' continues he, 'of the lepers, where they are ordered to shew themselves to the priests, and if they had the leprosy, then the priest should pronounce them unclean; not that the priest could make them leprous and unclean; but that they might have notice of those who were lepers and those who were not, and might be able to discern between the clean and the unclean. In the same manner, therefore, as the priest then made the clean and the unclean, so now the bishop and the presbyter binds or looses, not those who are innocent or guilty, but on account of his office, when he hears the varieties of sins, he knows who should be bound, or who should be loosed.' I have translated these passages as literally as possible. The latter sentence, especially, might be better arranged, but the meaning of Jerome is sufficiently plain.

We have not yet, however, closed this important witnesses testimony, but shall ask your attention to some farther extracts bearing on the point in question.

In his commentary on St. Paul's epistle to Titus, he saith: (258) It belongs to the apostolic dignity to lay the foundation of the Church, which no one should lay except the architect. But there is no other foundation besides Jesus Christ: where that foundation is laid, inferior workmen may carry on the building.'

And again: arguing strongly that bishop and presbyter were at the beginning but different names for the same office, and that the distinction was introduced for the purpose of preventing schism, he uses the following language:

(258) Hieron. Com. in Epist. ad Titum, Cap. 1.

'*Hujus rei, &c.*] Apostolicæ dignitatis est Ecclesiæ jacere fundamentum, quod nemo ponere, nisi Architectus. Fundamentum autem non est aliud præter Christum Jesum. Qui inferiores artifices sunt, hi possunt ædes super fundamenta construere.

(259) 'Peter, who received his name from the firmness of his faith, in his epistle, saith: *The presbyters who are among you, I who am your fellow presbyter, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and a companion of the glory which is to be revealed hereafter, beseech you, feed the flock of the Lord among you, not as if by constraint, but willingly.* Here we shew,' continues Jerome, 'that with the ancients presbyters and bishops were the same; but by degrees, in order that the plants of dissension might be rooted up, the care of government was committed to one. Therefore, as the presbyters know themselves by the custom of the Church to be subject to him who may be set over them, so should the bishops know that they are superior to the presbyters more by custom than by the truth of our Lord's disposition, and that they ought to govern the Church in common; imitating Moses, who, when he had it in his power to preside alone over Israel, chose seventy men with whom he might judge the people.'

I do not undertake to defend this opinion of Jerome, brethren, because I believe that Episcopacy deserves to be placed on far higher ground than the mere custom of the Church. But the passage is important as exhibiting the

(259) Ib. 'Et Petrus qui ex fidei firmitate nomen accepit, in Epistola sua loquitur dicens: *Presbyteros ergo in vobis obsecro compresbyter, et testis Christi passionum, qui et ejus gloriæ quæ in futuro revelanda est socius sum, pascite eum qui in vobis gregem Domini, non quasi cum necessitate, sed voluntarie.* Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et Episcopos, paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subjectos, ita Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere Ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum judicaret.'

construction which ought to be affixed to other parts of his works. And you will perceive at once, that an author who thus argued for the original equality of bishops and presbyters, and reduced the whole episcopal power of government to the custom of the Church, without divine right, could never, in fairness, be suspected of teaching, that the bishop of Rome, by the express gift of Christ to Peter, held ‘*a plenitude of power,*’ not only over his own presbyters, but over all the bishops, priests, deacons, and laity, throughout the whole christian world.

A few quotations of another character will shew Jerome’s regard for Rome in a light but poorly adapted to sustain your doctrine. Thus, in his preface to the treatise on the Holy Spirit, addressed to his friend Paulinian, he uses the following expressions: (260) ‘When I was a dweller in Babylon, a tenant of the scarlet whore, and living after the rule of the Roman citizens, I had a desire to prate somewhat concerning the Holy Spirit; and the work being begun, I designed to dedicate it to the pontiff of that city.’

Strange language this, brethren, from the *most blessed* of the fathers. But it is not the only instance, for I shall shew you another more positive and sober declaration of the same kind. In his epistle to Marcella, when he argues in favor of a solitary life, and especially recommends her to leave Rome, and take up her residence at Bethlehem, the birth-place of the Saviour; he saith: (261) ‘This is a far holier place, as I think, than the Tarpeian rock, which the frequent

(260) S. Hieron. ad Paulinianum in Lib. Didymi de Spir. Sanc. præfatio.

‘Cum in Babylone versarer, et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus, et jure Quiritum viverem, volui garrere aliquid de Spiritu Sancto, et ceptum opusculum, ejusdem urbis Pontifici dedicare.

(261) S. Hieron. ad Marcellam. Op. om. Tom. I. p. 82.

‘Et hic [nempe Bethlehem] puto locus sanctior est Tarpeia rupe,

stroke of the thunderbolt would prove to have displeased the Lord. Read the Apocælypse of John, and behold what he declares of the scarlet woman, on whose forehead were written blasphemies; of the seven hills, of many waters, and of going out from Babylon. *Go out from her my people, saith the Lord, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues. Fly ye from the midst of Babylon, and save every one of you his own soul. She has fallen, she has fallen, the great Babylon, and is become a habitation of demons, and a watch-tower of the unclean spirit.* There, indeed, is a holy Church, there are the trophies of the apostles and martyrs, there is a true confession of Christ, there is the faith preached by the apostles, and there, while heathenism is trodden down, the Christian profession is daily erecting itself on high: but ambition, power, the vastness of the city, the passion to see and to be seen, to salute and to be saluted, to praise and to calumniate, to hear or to speak, with the necessity of seeing such a croud of people, however unwillingly, these things are

quæ de cœlo sæpius fulminata ostendit, quòd Domino displiceret. Lege Apocalypsim Joannis, et quid de muliere purpurata, et scripta in ejus fronte blasphemia, septem montibus, aquis multis, et Babylonis cantetur exitu, contuere. *Exite, inquit Dominus, de illa populus meus, et ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiatis. Fugite de medio Babylonis, et salvate unusquisque animam suam. Cecidit enim, cecidit Babylon magna, et facta est habitatio Daemonum, et custodia Spiritus immundi.* Est quidem ibi sancta Ecclesia, sunt trophæa Apostolorum et martyrum, est Christi vera confessio, est ab Apostolo prædicata fides, et gentilitate calcata, in sublime se quotidie erigens vocabulum Christianum: sed ipsa ambitio, potentia, magnitudo urbis, videri et videre, salutari et salutare, laudare et detrahere, vel audire vel proloqui, et tantam frequentiam hominum saltem invitum videre, a proposito monachorum et quiete aliena sunt. Aut enim videmus venientes ad nos, et silentium perdimus, aut non videmus, et superbiam arguimur. Interdumque ut visitantibus reddamus vicem, ad superbas fores pergimus, et inter linguas rodentium ministrorum postes ingredimur auratos.

quite foreign to the quiet and design of monks. For either we must see those who come to visit us, and thereby lose the benefits of silence; or we must refuse to see them, and thereby be accused of pride. And if we return the visits, we present ourselves to scornful doors; and enter the gilded posts amongst the tongues of back-biting menials.'

I shall not trouble you, brethren, with any disquisition upon the question, whether Jerome meant to apply the language of the Apocalypse to heathen, or to Christian Rome. Certain it is, however, that he wrote those passages nearly one hundred years after Christianity had triumphed in the imperial city, and at a time when he could with truth assert, as we see he did, that '*heathenism was trodden down.*' But if he had believed that the Vicar of Christ, the pastor and ruler of the whole christian world, had his seat at Rome, in that Church which was the mother and mistress of all the others, is it conceivable that he could have thus expressed himself, without one redeeming word of veneration? Or could you imagine an orthodox presbyter of your Church, distinguished as Jerome was, for piety and learning, delivering such sentiments at the present day?

Another instance of our author's disregard to the superior authority of the Church of Rome, occurs in the following passages, addressed to his friend Lucinius.

(262) 'As to your questions concerning the sabbath, whether it is lawful to fast on it, and concerning the eucha-

(262) Hieron. ad Lucinium. ib. p. 126. A. 'De sabbato quod quæris, utrum jejunandum sit, et de eucharistia, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Hispaniæ observare perhibentur, scripsit quidem et Hippolytus vir disertissimus, et carptim diversi scriptores e variis autoribus edidere. Sed ego illud te breviter admonendum puto, traditiones Ecclesiasticas, [præsertim quæ fidei non officiant] ita observandas, ut a majoribus traditæ sunt. Nec aliorum consuetudinem aliorum contrario more subverti.'

rist, whether it should be taken every day, as the Churches of Rome and of Spain are said to practise, Hippolytus, truly, a very learned man, has written, and several others, here and there, have also published opinions, from various authors. But I think it best briefly to admonish you, that the ecclesiastical traditions, (especially those which do not meddle with faith) are to be observed, as the elders have delivered them. Nor should the custom of some be subverted by the contrary mode of others.'

(263) 'Nor do I say this because I think it proper to fast on the dominical days, or because I wish to take away the holydays of the sixty successive days, but let each province be satisfied with its own way, and esteem the precepts of the elders as the laws of the apostles themselves.'

In these passages, the equal rights of all the Churches, and the total absence of deference towards Rome, appear plainly; and fully accord with the general strain of our author's testimony.

Now then, let us turn, if you please, to your favorite, the epistle of Jerome to Damasus, and see whether it conflicts with the various quotations which I have set before you. It commences with a reference to the distracted state of the eastern Church, in consequence of the prevalence of Arianism, so that it was difficult to know where to find the true faith amongst them. From the east therefore, he turns to the west, to that Rome in which he had become a presbyter some years before, and whose bishop he was desirous to propitiate, in order to secure a kind and favorable reception. He introduces a comparison between the Church

(263) Ib. 'Nec hoc dico quod dominicis jejunandum putem, et contextas sexaginta diebus ferias auferam, sed unaquæque provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges Apostolicas arbitretur.'

es in the east and the west, by a recurrence to our Lord's parable of the prodigal son. He then alludes strongly to the reasons for his former disgust, by saying 'Let envy depart: let the ambition of the Roman chief be banished. I speak with the successor of the fisherman, and a disciple of the cross. I, who follow no primate except Christ, *am united in communion to your blessedness, that is, to the chair of Peter. On that rock I know that the Church is built; whoever eats the lamb out of that house is profane.* If any one was not in the ark of Noah he must perish in the flood'— '*Whoever does not gather with thee, scatters: that is, whoever is not of Christ is of antichrist.* For now—O shame!—after the Nicene faith, after the Alexandrian decree, the west also concurring, the new phrase of *three hypostases* is exacted of me, a Roman, by the chief of the Arians.' &c.

The whole question, here, turns upon the sense of the words I have italicised. Whether Jerome meant to say that the Church was built on the chair of Peter, or on the confession, the faith of Peter, which the Council of Nice had acknowledged as the faith of the Catholic or universal Church, and which the chair of Peter, (that is, in the style of Jerome's days, the Church of Rome) had retained, this is the only point at issue. And perhaps I cannot do better, with regard to it, than refer you to the Scholium which your truly great Erasmus has appended to the very passage. (264) '**NOT UPON ROME,**' was the Church built, 'as I think,' saith this celebrated commentator. 'For it might happen

(264) Hieron. op. Tom. 2. 91. Epist. Hieron, ad Damasum Scholia. '*Super illam petram*] Non super Romam, ut arbitror. Nam fieri potest, ut Roma quoque degeneret; sed super eam fidem, quam Petrus professus est, et quam hactenus Romana servavit Ecclesia, qua non alia minus laboravit hæresibus.'

that Rome also should degenerate; but upon that faith which Peter professed, and which hitherto the Roman Church has preserved, by which alone she has been less troubled with heresies.'

And on the following words of Jerome, '*Out of this house, whoever eats the lamb is profane,*' the same distinguished critic observes: (265) 'Here truly, Jerome seems to think, that all the Churches should be subject to the Roman See, or at least, not to be separated from that Church, which particularly glories in the apostle who held the primacy among the rest; and which is therefore orthodox, as standing in the first dignity of the orthodox Churches. But Jerome alluded,' continues Erasmus, 'to the house in which Christ with the twelve apostles ate the paschal lamb. And he referred to what we read in the twelfth chapter of Exodus respecting the eating of the passover: It shall be eaten in one house, nor shall ye carry any portion of its flesh out of doors.'

In accordance, then, brethren, with one of your own most eminent scholars, I am justified in saying, that the communion to which Jerome alluded throughout this epistle was a communion *in the orthodox faith, as opposed to the heresy of Arius*. He had left Rome, in disgust; and had repaired to the Eastern Church, in order to enjoy the peace and retirement of monastic life. But the Eastern Church becomes torn by heresy, his peace is destroyed, his faith is impeach-

(265) Ib. *Extra hanc domum*] 'Hic Hieronymus omnino videtur sentire, omnes ecclesias debere subesse Romanæ sedi, aut certe ab hac non alienas, quæ peculiariter hoc apostolo gloriatur, qui inter apostolos primas tenuit: et sic est orthodoxa, ut sit orthodoxarum prima dignitate. Allusit autem ad domum, in qua Christus cum duodecim apostolis comedit agnum paschalem. Et quod legitur Exodi duodecimo de esu phasæ: In una domo comedetur, nec efferetis de carnis ejus foras.'

ed, and he desires to return to his former habitation. Addressing himself to the Roman bishop, he relates the facts, compares the state of the two Churches, and tells Damasus that the western Church was now the salt of the earth, the light of the world. I am not in communion with these heretical Arians, saith he, our faith is not the same. But I am in communion with you, for you hold the faith of Peter, together with his chair. On that faith—that rock—I know that the Church is built, out of which Church whoever eateth the lamb is profane. For that Church is as the ark, which alone preserved the family of Noah from the deluge. Whoever does not gather with thee, by a communion in this true faith, scatters: for without this faith, he cannot be of Christ, and therefore must needs be of Antichrist.

To shew still more clearly, that this is the true exposition of Jerome's meaning, let me remind you of the expressions with which he so carefully guards his independence. 'Let envy depart, saith he, 'Let the ambition of the Roman chief be banished. I speak with the successor of the fisherman, and a disciple of the cross. I follow no primate but Christ.' For what purpose, I beseech you, were these words written, if Jerome intended to acknowledge pope Damasus as the '*Vicar of Christ,*' holding the place, '*not of a mere man, but of the true God upon the earth,*' according to your canon law? Had such been his meaning, would he not have said so? Since his very object was to ingratiate himself with the pope, and obtain an honorable recal from his self-imposed exile, would not every motive induce him to employ the strongest language of devotion to the ROMAN CHIEF, which his real sentiments could possibly allow?

But this is not the greatest difficulty which your construction of the epistle has to overcome. According to your

hypothesis, the Church of Rome was appointed, by divine authority, to be the mother and mistress of all the Churches—the head of the Church throughout the world. Of course, then, the Eastern Church, in departing from the faith of her mother and mistress, had committed a grievous trespass on the established system of God, of which system, Jerome was an advocate and upholder. But if all this were so, why does he not mention it in his epistle? Why does he compare the Eastern and Western Churches to the *two brothers* in the parable of the prodigal son, instead of saying that they stood in the mutual relation of *parent and child*? Why does he accuse the Eastern Church of persisting in their error, after the Council of Nice had pronounced their judgment against the Arian heresy, instead of charging them with the far deeper sin of treason against the divine authority of the Roman See?

Above all however, brethren, let me beg you to consider, that your construction of this single epistle requires us to set Jerome against himself, and to adopt a doubtful comment upon one passage, in the very face of the remainder of his testimony. For have we not heard our witness expressly declaring, in his epistle to Evagrius, that the authority of the Church of Rome was not to be followed in preference to the rest of the Churches; that all bishops were equal in office and in excellency, whether they were of Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis: that every bishop should consider himself as Aaron, and the presbyters as Aaron's sons, and the deacons as Levites? Of course then, there could be no superior over any bishop except Christ, since there was no other high-priest over Aaron—the very doctrine, in substance, which Cyprian had delivered more than two centuries before.

Again: have we not heard Jerome expounding the Scriptures in manifest contradiction to your doctrine; asserting directly that what our Lord did for Peter he afterwards did for the others; that the Church was built upon all the apostles, and that all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven? Have we not even heard him reducing the very power of the keys to so moderate a measure, that if you held the same opinion as Jerome, you would hardly think it worth a controversy?

Again: have we not heard our witness insisting that bishops and presbyters in the beginning held the same office, and strongly arguing that for this reason, bishops, in his days, should know themselves to be above presbyters, rather by the custom of the Church, than by any divine constitution? And this he states with regard to *all bishops*. How then should he have imagined, that such a pre-eminence had been designed, by Christ himself, for the bishop of Rome?

Again: have we not heard your favorite Jerome applying that most offensive of all Scriptural figures—the scarlet whore, and Babylon—to Rome, in his own days; urging his friend Marcella to leave it, in the language of the Apocalypse: ‘Go out from her, my people, saith the Lord, that ye be not partaker of her sins?’

And lastly: have we not heard him advise Lucinius, not to regard the customs of Rome, on the subject of fasting on the Sabbath, and the daily reception of the Eucharist, if it differed from the other Churches, saying, ‘let each province be satisfied with its own way?’

I doubt not, brethren, that I may err, as all men are liable to do, in my estimate of the force of evidence on the minds of others. But I confess myself perfectly unable to conceive, how the testimony of this important witness, taken as a whole, can be brought into accordance with your

system. His vast learning, his zeal for celibacy, his devotion to monachism, and his letter to pope Damasus, have combined to place him in the high rank which he has obtained upon your calendar. And I am willing to add that his candor, his sincerity, and his zeal for what he believed to be the truth, are worthy of all praise. For myself I can freely say, that I regard his works with peculiar admiration; and am well persuaded, that if the Church of Rome would consent to a thorough adoption of the sentiments of Jerome, there would be very little material for serious controversy remaining. (266)

(266) Having promised, when I arrived at the testimony of Jerome, to place before you his specification of the errors of Origen, I subjoin an extract from his Epistle to Pammachius, on that subject :

‘Et primum de libro *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, ubi loquitur:’ [sc. Origenes] ‘Sicut enim incongruum est dicere, quod possit Filius videre Patrem: ita inconueniens est opinari, quod Spiritus Sanctus possit videre Filium. Secundum, quod in hoc corpore quasi in carcere sunt animæ religatæ: et antequam homo fieret in paradiso, inter rationabiles creaturas in cœlestibus commoratæ sunt. Unde postea in consolationem suam anima loquitur in Psalmis; *Præquam humiliarer, ego deliqui. Et: Revertere anima mea in requiem tuam. Et: Educ de carcere animam meam*; et cætera his similia. Tertium, quod dicat, et diabolum et dæmones acturos pœnitentiam aliquando, et cum sanctis ultimo tempore regnatos. Quartum, quod tunicas pelliceas humana corpora interpretetur, quibus post offensam et ejectionem de paradiso Adam et Eva induti sunt, haud dubium, quin ante in paradiso sine carne, nervis, et ossibus fuerint. Quintum, quod carnis resurrectionem membrorumque compagem, et sexum, quo viri dividimur a fœminis, apertissimè neget: tam in explanatione primi psalmi, quàm in aliis multis tractatibus. Sextum, quod sic paradysum allegorizet, ut historiæ auferat veritatem, pro arboribus Angelos, pro fluminibus virtutes cœlestes intelligens, totamque paradisi continentiam tropologicâ interpretatione subvertat. Septimum, quod aquas, quæ super cœlos in Scripturis esse dicuntur, sanctas supernasque virtutes: quæ supra terram et infra terram, contrarias et dæmoniâcas esse arbitrentur. Octavum, quod extremum objicit, imaginem et similitudinem Dei, ad quam homo con-

ditus fuerat, dicit ab eo perditam, et in homine post paradisum non fuisse.' Hieron. ad Pammachium adversus errores Joan. Hierosolym. Op. om. Tom. 2. p. 112. F.

There are several other parts of the works of Jerome, where he enumerates the errors of Origen, but none, as I think, are more satisfactory than the preceding. Perfectly plain it is, that there is nothing in the list of Jerome's censures which concerns the subject of my humble volume; and therefore, the testimony which I have adduced from Origen stands fully accredited, by the very language of your canon law. See page 12.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

A brighter name than that of St. Augustin, can hardly be found in the annals of the Church since the apostolic day; nor is there one whose authority you are disposed to venerate more highly. Let us next turn to his testimony, and ascertain how he interpreted those passages of the word of God, on which your system is supposed to rest.

And first, with regard to the apostle Peter being the foundation of the Church, it appears that Augustin, in one of his earlier works, while yet a presbyter, expressed an affirmative sentiment, but afterwards abandoned it, and thenceforward maintained the contrary. This we learn from his 'Retractations,' where his account of the matter is as follows :

(267) 'I wrote a book against the epistle of Donatus,' saith he, 'while I was a presbyter, in which I said, in a cer-

(267) S. Augustini Op. om. Editio Bendidict. Op. om. Tom. 1. p. 23. *Retract. l. i. c. xxi. § 1.* 'Librum contra epistolam Donati . . . eodem presbyterii mei tempore scripsi, . . . in quo dixi in quodam loco de apostolo Petro, quod in illo tamquam in petra fundata sit ecclesia . . . Sed scio me postea sæpissime sic exposuisse quod a Domino dictum est, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*: ut super hunc intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus dicens, *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi*: ac sic Petrus ab hac petra appellatus personam Ecclesiæ figuraret, quæ super hanc petram ædifica-

tain place, concerning the apostle Peter, that the Church was built on him, as on a rock. . . . But I know that very frequently afterwards I expounded our Lord's saying : *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, so that it might be understood to mean : Upon him whom thou, Peter, hast confessed, saying, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God : and so Peter, being named from this rock, would represent the person of the Church, which is built upon this rock, and received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For it was not said to him, Thou art a rock : but, *Thou art Peter*. The rock was Christ, whom Simon having confessed, as the whole Church confesses him, was called Peter.'

A few other extracts will assist in shewing the opinion of our witness more clearly. Thus, in his treatise upon Christian Doctrine, Augustin has these words, viz. (268) 'He gave those keys therefore to his Church, in order that those things which she should loose on earth, should be loosed in heaven, and that those which she should bind on earth should be bound in heaven : that is to say, whoever should not believe that sins would be remitted to him in his Church, they would not be remitted ; but whoever should believe, and being reformed should turn himself away from his transgressions, being settled in the bosom of his Church, should

tur, et accepit claves regni cœlorum. Non enim dictum est illi, Tu es petra : sed, *Tu es Petrus*. Petra autem erat Christus, quem confessus Simon sicut eum tota Ecclesia confitetur, dictus est Petrus.'

(268) *Ib.* Tom. 3. p. 8. De Doctrina Christiana. l. 1. c. xvii. 'Has igitur claves dedit Ecclesiæ suæ, ut quæ solveret in terra, soluta essent in cœlo, quæ ligaret in terra, ligata essent in cœlo : scilicet ut quisquis in Ecclesia ejus dimitti sibi peccata non crederet, non ei dimitterenter ; quisquis autem crederet, seque ab his correctus averteret, in ejusdem Ecclesiæ gremio constitutus, eadem fide atque correctione sanaretur. Quisquis enim non credit dimitti sibi posse peccata, fit deterior desperando.'

be healed by that faith and reformation. For whoever does not believe that his sins may be remitted, becomes worse through despair.'

Here you have a doctrine, brethren, closely resembling what we have previously found in Origen and others, giving the power of the keys to each individual, as soon as he becomes united with the Church of Christ, so that, being once baptized, repentance and faith are sufficient for every subsequent remission of sins, without recurrence to the priestly office of absolution. But the importance of the subject may demand, though at the cost of some repetition a few passages more, from our distinguished author.

Thus, in his discourse upon the 21st. chapter of the Gospel of St. John, he enlarges upon the gift of the keys to Peter in the following words, viz: (269) 'And since those

(269) Ib. Tom. 3. pars secunda, p. 599. c. In Johan. Evang. Cap. 21. Tract. 124. § 5. 'Et quia in ipso quoque ambulantes non sunt sine peccatis, quæ de hujus vitæ infirmitate subrepunt, dedit eleemosynarum remedia salutaria, quibus eorum adjuvaretur oratio, ubi eos dicere docuit, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Hoc agit ecclesia spe beata in hac vita aerumnosa: cujus Ecclesiae Petrus apostolus, propter Apostolatus sui primatum, gerebat figurata generalitate personam. Quod enim ad ipsum propriè pertinet, naturâ unus homo erat, gratiâ unus Christianus, abundantiore gratiâ unus idemque primus Apostolus: sed quando ei dictum est, *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cælis, et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cælis*, universam significabat Ecclesiam, quæ in hoc sæculo diversis tentationibus velut imbribus, fluminibus, tempestatibus quatitur, et non cadit, quoniam fundata est super petram, unde Petrus nomen accepit. Non enim a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra; sicut non Christus a Christiano, sed Christianus a Christo vocatur. Ideo quippe ait Dominus, Super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, quia dixerat Petrus: Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi. Super hanc ergo, inquit, petram quam confessus es, aedificabo ecclesiam meam. Petra enim erat Christus; super quod fundamentum etiam ipse aedificatus est Petrus. Fundamentum quippe aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod posi-

also who are walking in the Lord are not without sins, which steal upon them unawares, through the infirmity of this life, he gave them the salutary remedies of mercy, by which their prayer might be assisted, where he taught them to say: *Forgive us our debts, even as we also forgive our debtors.* This thing, with a blessed hope, the Church performs in this miserable life: of which Church the apostle Peter, by reason of the primacy of his Apostolate, bore the person in a figurative universality. For with regard to what belonged to himself, by nature he was a man, by grace he was a Christian, by more abundant grace he was one and the first apostle: but when it was said to him, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven,* he signified the Church universal, which in this world is shaken by divers temptations, as by rains, floods, and tempests, and yet falls not, because it is founded upon the rock, from which Peter received his name. For the rock was not named from Peter, but Peter from the rock: even as Christ is not named from Christian, but Christian from Christ. Moreover the Lord saith, *Upon this rock I will build my Church,* because Peter had said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.* Upon this rock, therefore, which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church. For the rock was Christ; upon which foundation Peter himself also was built. For another foundation can no man lay, besides that which has been laid, Christ Jesus. The Church therefore which is built on Christ, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven in Peter, that is, the power of binding and loosing sins.'

tum est, quod est, Christus Jesus. Ecclesia ergo quae fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni coelorum accepit in Petro, id est, potestatem ligandi solvendique peccata.

Again, saith this eminent master in Israel, (270) ‘What does this saying mean, *Upon this rock I will build my Church?* Upon this faith, upon that which was spoken, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.*’

And again: Augustin presents the same idea paraphrastically, in the following lively manner: (271) ‘*And I say unto thee, Thou art Peter*: because I am a rock (petra) thou art Peter; (Petrus) for the rock is not from Peter, but Peter from the rock, as Christ is not from Christian, but Christian from Christ. *And upon this rock I will build my Church*: not upon Peter, which thou art; but upon the rock which thou hast confessed: But *I will build my Church*; I will build **THEE**, who in this answer bearest the figure of the Church.’

It is surely impossible, brethren, after reading these multiplied proofs; to avoid understanding the settled and matured interpretations which this celebrated teacher attached to your favorite text. And yet it is worth remarking, that he does not confine his idea of the apostles’ representing the Church, to the case of Peter. For I find him extending the same representative capacity to the person of the apostle John, in a beautiful passage, which I cannot deny myself the pleasure of placing before you.

(270) Ib. 651. B. ‘*Quid est, super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam? Super hanc fidem, super id quod dictum est, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi.*’

(271) Ib. Tom. 5. p. 764. E. ‘*Et ego dico tibi, Tu es Petrus: quia ego petra, tu Petrus; neque enim a Petro petra, sed a petrâ Petrus: quia non a Christiano Christus, sed a Christo Christianus. Et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam: non super Petrum, quod tu es; sed supra petram, quam confessus es. Aedificabo autem Ecclesiam meam; aedificabo te, qui in hac responsione figuram gestas Ecclesiae.*’

(272) 'Nevertheless,' saith our witness, 'let no one separate these distinguished apostles. In that which Peter signified, they were together: and in that which John signified, they were to be together . . . Nor these alone, but the holy universal Church, the Spouse of Christ, does the same, in being brought out from these temptations, in being saved for this felicity. Which two modes of life Peter and John represented, severally . . . ON BEHALF OF ALL THE SAINTS, therefore, who belong inseparably to the body of Christ, in order to the proper direction of this most stormy life, Peter, the first of the apostles, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven for the binding and loosing of sins: AND ON BEHALF OF ALL THE SAME SAINTS, in order to the obtaining that most serene bosom of the hidden life, John the Evangelist reclined on the breast of Christ. As therefore it is not Peter alone, but the whole Church, which binds and looses sins, neither is it John alone who drinks from the fountain of the Lord's breast the sublime truths which he

(272) *Ib.* 600. F. 'Nemo tamen istos insignes Apostolos separet. Et in eo quod significabat Petrus, ambo erant: et in eo quod significabat Johannes, ambo futuri erant . . . Nec ipsi soli, sed universa hoc facit sancta Ecclesia sponsa Christi, ab istis tentationibus eruenda, in illa felicitate servanda. Quas duas vitas Petrus et Johannes figuraverunt, singuli singulas: . . . Omnibus igitur sanctis ad Christi corpus inseparabiliter pertinentibus, propter hujus vitæ procellosissimæ gubernaculum, ad liganda et solvenda peccata claves regni coelorum primus Apostolorum Petrus accepit: eisdemque omnibus sanctis propter vitæ illius secretissimæ quietissimum sinum, super pectus Christi Johannes Evangelista discubuit. Quoniam nec iste solus, sed universa Ecclesia ligat solvitque peccata: nec ille in principio Verbum Deum apud Deum, et cetera de Christi divinitate, et de totius divinitatis Trinitate atque unitate sublimia, quæ in illo regno facie ad faciem contemplanda, nunc autem donec veniat Dominus, in speculo atque in ænigmate contuenda sunt, quæ prædicando ructaret, de fonte Dominici pectoris solus bibit: sed ipse Dominus ipsum Evangelium pro sua curæque capacitate omnibus suis bibendum toto terrarum orbe diffusit.

put forth in his preaching; that in the beginning was the Word, God with God, and the rest concerning the divinity of Christ, and the Trinity and Unity of the divine nature—truths to be contemplated face to face in his kingdom, and now, until the Lord come, to be beheld in a glass and in mystery—but the Lord himself diffuses this Gospel to be drank by all his saints, each according to his capacity, throughout the whole world.’

Having thus, I trust, exhibited sufficiently the sentiments of the great Augustin on your principal text from St. Matthew, let me next proceed to shew how he understood your other favorite passage in the Gospel of St. John, on which you rest your assertion, that in commanding Peter to feed his sheep, our Lord committed to him and his successors, in the See of Rome, the pastoral care and government of the whole Catholic Church under heaven.

In his discourse upon the day held in honor of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, we read as follows: viz. (273) ‘*Feed my sheep*, I commit my sheep to thee. What sheep? Those which I have bought with my blood. I have died for them. Dost thou love me? Die then for them. And truly as that servant who was the man of man should give a price for the sheep that were lost: Peter gave

(273) S. Augustin. Sermo in Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

Ib. Tom. 5. p. 836. E. *Pasce oves meas*, commendo tibi oves meas. Quas oves? Quas emi sanguine meo. Mortuus sum pro eis. Amas me? Morere pro eis. Et quidem servus ille hominis homo pecuniam redderet pro consumptis ovibus: Petrus sanguinem reddidit pro ovibus conservatis. § 5. Eia, Fratres, aliquid pro tempore volo dicere. Quod Petro commendatum est, quod Petro mandatum est, non Petrus solus, sed etiam alii Apostoli audierunt, tenuerunt, servaverunt, maximeque ipse consors sanguinis et diei apostolus Paulus. Audierunt ista, et ad nos audienda transmiserunt. Pascimus vos, pascimur vobiscum. Det nobis Deus vires sic amandi vos, ut possimus etiam mori pro vobis, aut effectum, aut affectum.’

his blood for the sheep that were saved. But come, brethren,' continues Augustin, 'I wish to say something for the present time. That which was committed to Peter, that which he was commanded to do, **NOT PETER ONLY, BUT LIKEWISE ALL THE APOSTLES HEARD, HELD, AND KEPT:** and chiefly that companion of his martyrdom and of his natal day, the apostle Paul. They heard these things, and transmitted them to us that we might hear them. **WE FEED THEREFORE,** and are fed with you. May God give us strength in such wise to love you, that we also may be enabled to die for you, either in fact, or in affection.' Here you have the same sentiment which Augustin presented to us on the subject of the keys. What was said to Peter, was said to all, and received by all. Not one word, brethren, is to be found of your exclusive comment on these portions of the word of God, in the system of this celebrated teacher: but his testimony, both positive and negative, is directly hostile to your claims.

Let me next beg your attention to Augustin's style of expression, when he speaks of the Catholic Church. And here I shall cite the epistle of the Tertensian Council, to which his name is appended; and which, of course, must be received as not only his, but also the declaration of the other bishops united with him. Referring to the Donatists, this document proceeds as follows: (274) 'They have made their confession against the Catholic Church, which is diffused throughout the whole world, and have no more

(274) Concilii Tertensis ad Donat. epistola. Augustin. op. Tom. 2. p. 347. 'Confessi sunt enim contra ecclesiam Catholicam, quae toto terrarum orbe diffunditur, nihil se habere quod dicerent: quia divinis sanctarum scripturarum testimoniis oppressi sunt, quibus Ecclesia designatur incipiens ab Jerusalem crevisse per loca, in quibus Apostoli praedicaverunt, et nomina eorum locorum in suis epistolis et actis conscripserunt, et inde diffundi per ceteras gentes.'

that they can say: because they are borne down by the divine testimonies of the holy Scriptures, in which the Church is set forth, as beginning at Jerusalem, and is said to have increased through the places in which the apostles preached, and the names of those places are written in the Epistles and in the Acts, and thence it was diffused through the other nations.'

Again, saith Augustin, elsewhere, (275) 'The Church is the house of God. But this house is not built in one corner of the earth, but through all the earth.'

And again: (276) 'The body of Christ,' saith he, 'is the Church. But who are the supporters of the Church, unless it be the apostles, who are also called pillars.' We have in these extracts, which might be multiplied to the size of a volume, a true and simple description of the Catholic Church, without the slightest allusion to the domination of the Roman See, or the headship of the *Vicar of Christ*, which you suppose to be indispensable.

But the freedom of Augustin's mind from any such tenet, will probably appear more plainly, if we advert to some other passages, in which he has occasion to speak of Rome.

Thus he saith, in one place, (277) 'For the Lord promised with an oath, to the seed of Abraham, not the Romans,

(275) Aug. op. Tom. 2. p. 350. 'Ecclesiam eamdem esse domum Dei. Sed haec domus non orbis terrae uno angulo aedificatur, sed per omnem terram.'

(276) Ib. p. 330. D. 'Corpus autem Christi, ecclesia. Firmamenta autem ecclesiae qui, nisi Apostoli, qui etiam columnae alibi nuncupantur.'

(277) Ib. Tom. 2. 577. B. 'Non enim Romanos, sed omnes gentes Dominus semini Abrahae, media quoque juratione promisit: ex qua promissione jam factum est, ut nonnullae gentes, quae non tenentur ditione Romana, reciperent Evangelium, et adjungerentur Ecclesiae, quae fructificat et crescit in universo mundo.'

but all nations : through which promise it has already happened, that some nations who are not under the Roman authority, have received the Gospel and been joined to the Church, which increases and bears fruit in the whole world.'

Again ; we may see how little the other Churches considered themselves bound to follow the example of the supposed '*mother and mistress*' of them all, with regard to rites and ceremonies. For Augustin, writing to a friend who had consulted him on several points of ecclesiastical order, saith : (278) 'The question relating to the sabbath day is more easily resolved, since the Roman Church fasts on that day, and also some other Churches, although but few, whether near to her, or at a distance.' And, pursuing the subject, he relates the rule which Ambrose delivered to him at Milan, soon after he was baptized. (279) 'When I am here,' said Ambrose to his pupil, 'I do not fast on the Sabbath day : when I am at Rome, I fast ; and to whatever Church you come, continued he, observe its customs, if you do not wish either to make, or to suffer scandal.' Adopting the maxim, accordingly, of his former master, Augustin concludes by this general rule. (280) 'If you are willing to acquiesce in my advice,' saith he, 'do not oppose your bishop in this thing, but whatever he does, do you follow without scruple or disputation.'

(278) *Ib.* Tom. 2. p. 59. F. 'Et de die quidem sabbati facilius causa est, quia et Romana jejunit Ecclesia, et aliae nonnullae etiamsi paucae, sive illi proximae sive longinquae.'

(279) *Ib.* Tom. 2. p. 62. A. 'Quando hic sum, non jejuno sabbato ; quando Romae sum jejuno sabbato : et ad quaecumque ecclesiam veneritis, inquit, ejus morem servate, si pati scandalum non vultis aut facere.'

(280) *Ib.* Quapropter si consilio meo libenter acquiescis : Episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, et quod facit ipse sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare.

What prelate, brethren, holding your present system, would speak thus of the opinions and practice of the Church of Rome ; or leave it, in this manner, in the power of every bishop, either to follow her ritual or to depart from it, precisely as he pleased ?

One quotation more, however, must close the testimony of Augustin ; for the limits assigned to this portion of my humble labors have been passed already, and I am compelled, however reluctantly, to omit much which I had marked for insertion.

And in presenting to you, brethren, this passage, I pretend not to forestall your judgment ; but to my mind, it seems worthy of your most serious consideration. For you well know, that amongst all the arguments urged against the Reformation, there is not one more effective in your esteem, nor is there one more practically successful, than that which you derive from the variety of sects into which the dissenters from your Church are divided. And you point with triumph to your unity—you say that in the age which preceded the Reformation, there was but one form of the Christian religion throughout the civilized world—you refer to the injunctions of the Saviour that his followers should be one, and you demonstrate the necessity of all the peculiar rights of the pope, from the apparent impossibility of governing the Church in unity and peace, without a *Vicar of Christ*, and a diocese which shall be acknowledged as the *mother and mistress* of all the Churches.

Brethren, we admit that a portion of this argument is true. It is true that before the Reformation, there was a great deal of ecclesiastical union, where there is now no union whatever. Not that your statement is to be allowed in its full extent ; for the numerous and important Church of Greece—the descendants of the Eastern, as yours is of the

Western branch—the Syrian Churches, besides some other sects whom you call heretics—were known and acknowledged exceptions to the universality of your dominion, even then. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that it was so, and leaving unnoticed the bitter animosities and angry contentions amongst yourselves, which history has recorded, what is there to warrant your inference, that because you were united, therefore your system must be all divine? Most willingly we grant that religious truth, when fully understood, must produce ecclesiastical union: but it would be miserable logic which should undertake to prove, that ecclesiastical union can only be produced by religious truth. Union, in itself, is neither good nor evil. To give it character, it is necessary to combine it with a definite object; and then, it is the *object* of union, and not the *fact* of union, which decides our judgment of its value. Hence, while there is nothing so desirable amongst men as union in truth, so, on the other hand, there is nothing so much to be deprecated, as union in error. I must needs say, therefore, brethren, that this favorite argument of yours, however plausible to the unreflecting, seems to me nothing better than a weak sophism: for you rely on your union, in order to justify your claims, instead of first proving your claims in order to justify your union.

But I pass from the logic of this argument, to a question of fact, which changes the whole aspect of the case before us. It is this: that so far back as the primitive ages, there were divisions, and heresies, and schisms. They appeared even under the apostles' government. They multiplied after their departure; and at the close of the fourth century, Augustin gives us a list of them amounting to **EIGHTY EIGHT**, although he professes himself by no means sure that his list included the whole. I subjoin it in the language of the

original ; (281) and to me it seems, of itself, an incontrovertible proof, that the primitive Church acknowledged no such judge as your canon law represents the pope to be ; for if it had, every teacher of heresy would have been brought before his tribunal ; and the people, taught universally to revere the judgment of this oracle of God, could not have been induced to form a sect around a justly condemned proclaimer of error. Apply, then, brethren, your own argument to this period of the Church, and see to what conclusion it will lead you. The pope is the centre of unity, you say: the rejection of his authority is the great source of division. But in the time of Augustin there was more division than there is now ; and therefore according to your own reasoning, there was not as general an acknowledgment of the pope's authority as there is at present. One vast difference however, is to be observed between the early and the

(281) S. Augustin. op. Tom. 8. p. 3. 1. Simoniani. 2 Menandriani. 3 Saturniniani. 4 Basilidiani. 5 Nicolaitani. 6 Gnostici. 7 Carpocratiani. 8 Cerinthiani. 9 Nazaraei. 10 Ebionaei. 11 Valentiniani. 12 Secundiani. 13 Ptolemaei. 14 Marcitae. 15 Colorbasii. 16 Heracleonitae. 17 Opitae. 18 Caiani. 19 Sethiani. 20 Archontici. 21 Cerdoniani. 22 Marcionitae. 23 Appellitae. 24 Severiani. 25 Tatiani, vel Enoerititae. 26 Cataphryges. 27 Pepuziani, aliàs Quintilliani. 28 Artotyritae. 29 Tessarescae-decatitae. 30 Alogii. 31 Adamiani. 32 Elcesaei, et Sampsaei. 33 Theodotiani. 34 Melchisedeciani. 35 Bardesanistae. 36 Noetiani. 37 Valesii. 38 Cathari, sive Novatiani. 39 Angelici. 40 Apostolici. 41 Sabelliani, sive Patripassiani. 42 Origeniani. 43 Alii Origeniani. 44 Pauliani. 45 Photiniani. 46 Manichaei. 47 Hieracitae, 48 Meletiani. 49 Ariani. 50 Vadiani, sive Anthropomorphitae. 51 Sensariani. 52 Macedoniani. 53 Aëriani. 54 Aëtiani, qui et Eunomiani. 55 Apollinaristae. 56 Antidicomaritae. 57 Massaliani, sive Eudritae. 58 Metangismonitae. 59 Selenciani, vel Hermiani. 60 Proclianitae. 61 Patriciani. 62 Ascitae. 63 Passalorynchitae. 64 Aquarii. 55 Coluthiani. 66 Floriniani. 67 De mundi statu dissentientes. 68 Nudis pedibus ambulantes. 69 Donatistae, sive Donatiani. 70 Priscillianistae. 71 Cum hominibus non manducantes. 72 Rhetoriani. 73 Christi divinitatem passibilem dicentes. 74 Triformem Deum putantes. 75 Aquam

later periods of the Church: viz. that now, you who term yourselves the true Catholics, always place our rejection of Roman Supremacy in the foreground of our errors; and insist on our return to the papal jurisdiction with all your powers: whereas, amongst the eighty eight heresies of the primitive ages, and amongst all the arguments of the fathers against them, NOT ONE SENTENCE CAN BE FOUND UPBRAIDING THEIR ADHERENTS WITH A DEPARTURE FROM THE POPE, OR THE CHURCH OF ROME. What you may think of this difference, brethren, I know not: but in my judgment it seems enough, of itself, to determine the controversy.

Deo coaeternam dicentes. 76 Imaginem Dei non esse animam dicentes. 77 Innumerabiles mundos opinantes. 78 Animas converti in daemones et in quaecumque animalia existimantes. 79 Liberationem omnium apud inferos factam Christi descensione credentes. 80 Christi de Patre nativitati initium temporis dantes. 81 Luciferiani. 82 Jovinianistae. 83 Arabici. 84 Helvidiani. 85 Paterniani, sive Venustiani. 86 Tertullianistae. 87 Abeloitae. 88 Pelagiani, qui et Cœlestiani.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The evidence of the eloquent Chrysostom, who may be set down at A. D. 398, next claims our notice, and would justify a far larger space than our limits will allow. A few brief extracts must suffice us.

In his celebrated work on the Episcopal office, we read as follows: (282) 'For he,' (namely Christ) 'conversing with the prince of the apostles, saith, *Peter lovest thou me?* and Peter answering affirmatively, he adds: If thou lovest me, feed my sheep. The master interrogates the scholar, whether he is loved by him: not that he might be informed, (for how should he seek information, to whom the hearts of all men were open) but in order that he might teach us of

(282) St. Jo. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio Lib. 2. op. om. Latinè Tom. 5. p. 418. 'Hic enim cum apostolorum principe verba faciens: Petre amas me, inquit, atque illo id confitente, adjungit: si amas me, pasce oves meas. Interrogat discipulum magister, num ab eo ametur: non quò id ipse edocetur: [quò enim id edoceri studeat is, cui uni mortalium omnium corda pervia sunt] verùm ut nos doceat, quantae sibi curae sit gregis hujus praefectura Propterea enim quum respondisset discipulus: Tu scis domine, quod amem te, testemque citasset amoris hujus ipsummet qui amaretur, haud se hic continuit servator Jesus, sed et amoris quoque indicium adjunxit. Neque enim tum volebat testatum esse, quantum a Petro amaretur: siquidem id multis nobis argumentis constabat: verùm hoc ille tum agebat, ut et Petrum et caeteros nos edoceret, quanta benevolentia ac caritate erga suam ipse ecclesiam afficeretur: ut hac ratione et nos quoque

what importance he esteemed the oversight of this flock.'

'On which account,' continues Chrysostom, 'when the disciple had answered: Thou knowest Lord, that I love thee, and had even cited himself to witness it, the Saviour Jesus did not cease, but added another injunction, as an index of love. Nor did he desire in this merely to shew how much he was loved by Peter, since this appeared by many other proofs; but he acted thus, *in order to teach Peter and all of us*, with how much love and benevolence he was affected towards his Church: *so that we also might be influenced by this motive, to take upon us the care and charge of the same Church*, with our whole heart. . . . For why did he shed his blood? Certainly that he might purchase to himself this flock, of which he then *committed the care to Peter, and to Peter's successors.*'

Chrysostom here calls Peter the *prince* of the apostles, and the office of the apostolate he frequently elsewhere calls by the term of *principality*; but it is observable that his interpretation of the whole passage is altogether different from that which your present system demands. For instead of considering that our Redeemer designed to commit the whole Church, apostles and all, to the pastoral government of Peter, he evidently adopts the same view with the other fathers, viz. that what was addressed to Peter, was intended for all. You also perceive, that instead of limiting the successors of Peter to the diocese of Rome, he pursues the enlarged construction, that all bishops are his successors. You remember, brethren, the observation made on the latin word translated *prince*, in the chapter upon the evidence

ejusdem ecclesiae studium curamque toto animo susciperemus
 Quanam item de causa idem ille sanguinem effudit suum? certè ut pecudes eas acquireret, quarum curam tum Petro, tum Petri successoribus committebat.'

of Hilary. To which I have only to add, that there is nothing in it, as used by Chrysostom, which necessarily implies authority over the other apostles.

Again, I find Chrysostom referring to your other proof-text in the following manner. (283) 'To those who cultivate the earth,' saith he, 'and are conversant with it, it is granted that they may dispense the things of heaven: to them is given a power which the Almighty God chose not to commit either to angels or archangels: since it was not said to these: Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven. Terrestrial princes, truly, have the power of the chain, but only with respect to the body. But this chain of the priests of which I speak, concerns also the soul, and extends even to the heavens.' And again: (284) 'Whose sins ye shall retain, saith Christ, they are retained. What power can be greater? The Father gave all power to the Son, but I behold this same power delivered by God the Son, to them.' (i. e. the priesthood.)

Here, brethren, you perceive the power of the keys considered, not as conferred singly on Peter, and his successors in the See of Rome, according to your doctrine; but as

(283) Lib. III. p. 429. B. 'Etenim qui terram incolunt atque in ea versantur, iis commissum est ut ea quæ in cœlis sunt, dispensent; iis datum est ut potestatem habeant, quam Deus optimus neque angelis neque archangelis datam esse voluit: neque enim ad illos dictum est, Quaecumque alligaveris in terra, erunt alligata et in cœlo; et quaecumque solveris in terra, erunt soluta et in cœlo. Habent quidem et terrestres principes vinculi potestatem, verùm corporum solum. Id autem quod dico sacerdotum vinculum, ipsam etiam animam contingit, atque ad cœlos usque pervadit.

(284) 'Quorumcunque. ait, peccata retinueritis, retenta sunt. Quanam, obsecro, potestas hac una major esse queat? Pater omnifariam filio potestatem dedit: cæterùm video ipsam eandem omnifariam potestatem a Deo filio illis traditam.'

granted to the apostolic priesthood collectively; according to the enlarged construction so frequently exhibited to us by all the other witnesses, and in the previous passage, by Chrysostom himself.

Let me next shew you, that the famous text concerning the foundation of the Church, was interpreted by our present witness precisely as it was by those who preceded him. For in his comment on the 26th Chap. of Matthew, Chrysostom saith that Christ (285) 'founded and fortified the Church upon his confession,' (i. e. Peter's) 'so that no danger, nor even death itself could overcome it.'

Again, commenting on the very words of the Saviour, (286) 'And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church:' Chrysostom saith: 'That is, UPON THE FAITH OF HIS CONFESSION.' Nothing can be more express and definite.

In common with almost all the fathers, Chrysostom seems to take particular pleasure in the character of St Paul. (287) 'There is no one who loved Christ more vehemently than Paul,' saith he, 'and none who was a greater favorite with God: nevertheless, after so many privileges conferred on him by the Almighty, he fears and trembles, on account of

(285) Ib. In. Cap. XXVI. Math. Homil. 83. comment. Tom. 1. p. 866. 'Nam qui super confessionem ejus Ecclesiam ita fundavit atque munivit, ut nullum periculum, neque mors ipsa posset eam superare.'

(286) Ib. Homil. 55. in Cap. XXVI. Math. p. 591. 'Et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: id est, super fidem confessionis.' The original Greek is τῆ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας: Upon the faith of his confession. Which your translator has expressed with great carelessness to say the least, in these words: fidem atque confessionem.

(287) Ib. p. 430. D. 'Christum nemo est qui Paulo vehementius dilexerit, nemo qui apud Deum gratiosior quam Paulus fuerit: tamen post tot privilegia a Deo accepta veretur adhuc ac tremuit, principatus istius subditorumque suorum gratia.

those who were the subjects of *this principality.*' The object of this venerable father's argument is to shew the awful responsibility of the episcopal office, and therefore he recurs to St. Paul, as to him, who was not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles, calling his office, a principality. Take these few specimens, brethren, as a fair sample of the testimony of Chrysostom, and you will have no difficulty in reckoning him among the rest, as plainly opposed to that interpretation of Scripture by which you sustain your exclusive claims.

CHAPTER XXX.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

As your canon law gives a special place to the *blessed Isidore*, (A. D. 412.) I proceed to notice a few passages in his epistles, bearing on the points in question, and taken, as in other instances, from your Latin version. (288) 'It was not,' saith this witness, 'because Christ was ignorant of the various opinions which men had formed concerning him, that he demanded of his disciples, *Whom do men say that I am?* for he penetrates the very heart. But it was in order that he might deliver to all men, by this means, *a sure confession, which Peter, inspired by him, laid down as a basis and foundation, whereupon the Lord built his Church.*'

You perceive in this passage, brethren, a distinct interpretation of your favorite text, in direct hostility to your present argument. And the other passage, on which you depend for the Scriptural proof that our Lord committed the whole Church to the care of Peter, is commented on by Isidore in the following words, equally inapplicable to your doctrine: viz.

(288) S. Isidori Pelusiotæ de interpret. divin. Scrip. Epistol. Lib. 1. Ep. 235. 'Non ea de causa Christus, qui pectus ipsum penetrat, ex discipulis suis percontabatur: Quem me dicunt homines esse, quòd variam hominum de se opinionem ignoraret, sed ut hac ratione certam omnibus confessionem traderet, quam ab eo inspiratus Petrus, tamquam basim ac fundamentum jecit, super quod Dominus Ecclesiam suam xetruxit.'

(289) 'The threefold interrogation of the Lord addressed to Peter, concerning love,' saith our witness, 'is not to be attributed to the ignorance of the Redeemer, (lest any should be deceived) but the good physician, *by this triple assent, expelled the triple denial.*'

The same explanation occurs amongst the fathers so frequently, that there is hardly any text on which their comments appear with greater unanimity.

From the writings of Prosper of Aquitain, (A. D. 434) whom your canon styles a most religious man, I shall only trouble you with two excellent passages on the Church, where nothing is intimated like your system.

(290) 'The sons of the servants of God,' saith he, 'are the sons of the just, the sons of the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles and martyrs; the sons, in fine, of the whole Church which is the body of Christ, the mother of all the fathers, and of all the sons.' And again,

(291) 'The whole Church with her head, which is Christ, is one man, whose proper office is, through all time, to bless God, and to encourage herself in his praise, whom she loves

(289) Ib. Lib. 1. Ep. 103. *Triplicis Domini ad Petrum de charitate interrogatio, a Domini ignoratione proficisci minimè existimanda est; [ne ita quidam decipiantur] verùm triplicem negationem triplici assensione bonus medicus depulit.*

(290) S. Prosperi Aquitan. Expos. in Psal. cr. Ed. Paris. 1711. p. 378. 'Filiis servorum Dei, sunt filii justorum, filii patriarcharum, prophetarum, Apostolorum et martyrum: filii postremò totius Ecclesiæ quæ corpus est Christi, et quæ mater est omnium patrum, omniumque filiorum.'

(291) Ib. in Psal. cr. 'Tota Ecclesia cum suo capite, quod est Christus, unus est homo, cujus proprium officium est in omne tempore benedicere Dominum, seque in laudem ejus, quem ex tota virtute sua diligit, cohortari. *Interiora autem ejus sunt ratio intelligentiæ, spes fidei, humilitas timoris, fortitudo caritatis: et si quæ sunt aliæ affectiones, quibus mens in admirationem sui auctoris erigitur.*'

with her whole strength. But her internal qualities are the reason of intelligence, the hope of faith, the humility of fear, the patience of love; and if there be any other affections, by which the mind may be lifted up in admiration of its Creator.'

On the subject of Peter's authority over the other apostles, or the derived supremacy of the Church of Rome, I find nothing in the works of Prosper; so that his testimony yields no support to your system.

But the name of Vincent of Lerins stands high in your esteem, brethren, on account of his admirable book in favor of apostolical tradition. Let me next quote from this shrewd and powerful writer, a part of his celebrated argument, and we shall then occupy a little space in marking its application.

(292) 'If I or any other, desire to detect the frauds of heretics which are rising up around us,' saith Vincent, 'and to avoid their snares, and to continue sound and whole in a

(292) *Vincentii Lirinensis Commonitorium*, [Salv. et Vincent. Op. ex cura Stephani Baluzii, Ed. Tertia Paris. A. D. 1684.] p. 317.

'Sive ego sive quis alius vellet exsurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere laqueosque vitare, et in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem suam, Domino adjuvante, deberet, primum scilicet, divinæ legis auctoritate, tum deinde Ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione. Hic forsitan requirat aliquis: Cùm sit perfectus scripturarum canon, sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, quid opus est ut ei ecclesiasticæ intelligentiæ jungatur auctoritas? Quia videlicet scripturam sacram pro ipsa sua altitudine non uno eodemque sensu universi accipiunt, sed ejusdem eloquia aliter atque aliter alius atque alius interpretatur; ut penè quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiæ crui posse videantur. Aliter namque illam Novatianus, aliter Sabellius, aliter Donatus exponit, aliter Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius; aliter Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscellianus; aliter Jovinianus, Pelagius, Cælestius; aliter postremò Nestorinus. Atque idcirco multum necesse est, propter tantos tam varii erroris amfractus, ut prophetiæ et apostolicæ interpretationis linea secundùm ecclesiastici et Catholicici

sound faith, he ought to fortify his faith, by the help of God, in a twofold manner; first, by the authority of the divine law, and next, by the tradition of the catholic Church. But here, perhaps, some one may say: Since the canon of the Scriptures is perfect, and suffices to itself by teaching, on all subjects, enough, and to spare, what need have we to join with it the authority of ecclesiastical judgment? I answer: Because all men do not receive the sacred Scripture in the same sense, by reason of its sublimity; but its declarations are variously interpreted by this reader and by that; so that there are almost as many different opinions as there are men to form them. Thus, Novatian expounded the Scriptures in one way, Sabellius in another, Donatus in another, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, had each his several interpretations; Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscillian, Jovinian, Pelagius, Celestius, and finally, Nestorius, all construed the same Scriptures in their several ways. And therefore it is altogether necessary, on account of the many and various turnings of error, that the line of prophetic and apostolical interpretation should be directed, according to the rule of ecclesiastical and catholic construction. *And in the Catholic Church herself*, likewise, care is above all things to be taken, that we hold that which has been be-

sensus normam dirigatur. In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est etenim vere proprièque catholicum. Quod ipsa vis nominis ratioque declarat, quæ omnia ferè universaliter comprehendit. Sed hoc ita demum fiet si sequamur universalitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem. Sequemur autem universitatem hoc modo, si hanc unam fidem veram esse fateamur quam tota per orbem terrarum confitetur Ecclesia; antiquitatem verò ita, si ab his sensibus nullatenus recedamus quos sanctos majores ac patres nostros celebrasse manifestum est: consensionem quoque itidem, si in ipsa vetustate omnium vel certè penè omnium sacerdotum pariter et magistrorum definitiones sententiasque sectemur.

lieved *everywhere, always, and by all*. For this is truly and properly Catholic, since the very force and reason of the word declares, that it comprehends all things universally. And this we shall attain, if we follow *universality, antiquity, and consent*. And we may follow universality in this manner, if we confess that faith only to be true, which the Church throughout the whole earth confesses: and we shall follow antiquity, if we in nowise recede from those interpretations which our holy ancestors and fathers manifestly adopted: and in like manner we shall maintain consent also, if in this antiquity we embrace the opinions and definitions of all, or at least nearly all the bishops and teachers.'

This, brethren, I hold to be sound doctrine, admirably expressed. And I beseech you to apply it to the subject before us. Your present faith makes the supremacy of the pope a part of the creed itself, but we have found no such dogma in the system of the primitive fathers. Your present faith explains the Scriptures in direct opposition to the interpretations which I have cited from the ancient authorities: and the opinions and definitions of all the witnesses we have examined concerning the Catholic Church, leave totally unnoticed your supposed essential government of the universal bishop. Hence, by the rule of Vincent, your creed should be reduced to its ancient simplicity, and your interpretations of Scripture should be brought back to the primitive standard.

But this is not the only point of view in which the passage quoted from Vincent should impress the mind of a discerning reader. For your canon law expressly ascribes to the pope, *BY DIVINE RIGHT*, the office of final judge in all ecclesiastical causes, *especially in those which concern faith*. How is it that Vincent overlooked this divinely constituted

tribunal—this living oracle of judgment—when he laid down his famous rule for the faith of the Catholic Church? Why should he send men to the fathers, to search for his three ingredients of universality, antiquity, and consent, when a course so much more short and easy lay before him? By what singular stupidity should he have omitted to tell the Church, that the only thing required to avoid heresy was to abide by the decisions of the Vicar of Christ: whom God had appointed, like the Urim and Thummim of ancient Israel, to resolve every doubt, and settle every controversy?

Brethren, is it possible that you can avoid seeing the indirect but invincible objection here furnished, to your present claims? Or can it remain a question, with a candid and a conscientious mind, that the rule of Vincent, connected with the testimony of the fathers, would at once bring our dispute to a safe and plain conclusion? 'IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HERSELF,' saith he, 'care is above all things to be taken that WE HOLD THAT WHICH HAS BEEN BELIEVED EVERYWHERE, ALWAYS, AND BY ALL. FOR THIS IS TRULY AND PROPERLY CATHOLIC.' Judged by this standard, your doctrine may be *Roman* now, but it could not have been Roman at the beginning. God grant that the time may not be far distant, when that primitive CATHOLIC faith which was *once* ROMAN, may be Roman again.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Having set before you the testimony of those witnesses to whom you yourselves appeal, let me ask your attention to a brief recital of the catalogue.

We commenced, as you will recollect, with the Holy Scriptures. Then we examined the apostolic canons, the apostolic constitutions, and the epistle of Clement, the bishop of Rome, which brought us to the close of the first century. Irenæus and Tertullian gave us the evidence of the second century. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Firmilian and Lactantius, carried us onward to the close of the third century. And, multiplying as we advanced, Eusebius of Cesarea, the emperor Constantine, the council of Nice, Athanasius, the emperor Constantius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Hilary of Poitiers, Basil of Cappadocia, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin and Chrysostom, brought as through the fourth century. Beyond this we progressed with Isidore of Pelusium, Prosper of Aquitain, and Vincent of Lerins, which leaves us about the middle of the fifth century; and at this point we have ceased from a task, laborious to the writer, and, I fear, wearisome to the reader; but entitled, notwithstanding, to serious consideration from those who love the truth, and value the venerable remains of Christian antiquity.

And here, brethren, permit me to remind you, that I have not questioned the fidelity with which the writings of the fathers have been handed down to us, except in those instances where your own authors have compelled me. Nevertheless, I owe it to truth to state my conviction, that the expurgations which your scholars have made of these ancient writings have left them, still, far from immaculate; although the labors of your critics are highly creditable to their learning and candor. I shall not trouble you with a statement of my reasons for this conviction: but shall sustain its correctness by quoting the opinions of two among your most able men.

The translator of Athanasius saith, (293) 'As in the most fruitful fields many weeds grow up with the best grain, so, to every ancient author of the highest note many false and spurious books are attributed: but to none more than to Athanasius. Moreover these writers, since they are the apes of Athanasius, endeavor to present the same arguments concerning the Trinity, but with no skill, genius, or erudition: indeed they take the most mysterious subjects, and with a wonderful unskillfulness, involve them more and more, until you would think yourself to be not merely in a labyrinth, from which at least the proper clue might extricate

(293) In S. Athan. op. Epistola Nuncupatoria. 'Ut enim fertilissimis agris multa zizania una cum optimis frugibus nascuntur, ita optimo cuique auctori plurimi falsi et nothi libri adscribuntur: nulli autem plures, quam Athanasio. Illi porro, quia simiæ sunt Athanasii, eadem argumenta de Trinitate tractare conantur, sed nulla cum mente, ingenio aut eruditione: iidemque res implicatissimas mira infelicitate magis ac magis implicant, ut non in labyrintho, ubi saltem filo exitus inveniri poterat, sed in nodo Gordio te hæere putes: adeo illic nec caput nec cauda apparet, arbitrerisque te in antiquo quasi chao volutari. In hos libros adulterinos quum incidisset Desiderius Erasmus, et nihil melioris venæ expectaret, semel deposito onere fessus, nauseabundusque, exclamavit, *ἀλλίς δρυός*, nolens amplius glandes gustare.

you, but rather in a Gordian knot; or else, there being no appearance of either head or tail, you might fancy yourself rolling about in the primæval chaos. When Desiderius Erasmus happened upon those adulterated books, and expected nothing of a better quality, disgusted and wearied he threw down his load at once, exclaiming: *Plenty of oak: being unwilling any longer to fare on acorns.*'

To this frank and amusing acknowledgment, I shall only add the graver confession of your distinguished Quesnel. (294) 'The writings of the holy fathers,' saith he, 'by which, as by another channel, the truth is delivered through revolving ages, from Christ the Head, even to us, are not yet sufficiently purged from the filth of errors and interpolations, not yet fully restored to their purity; although more than one hundred and fifty years have already elapsed since the enterprize was commenced with no small study by men of vast learning, in order that the whole of the sacred fathers might be, as it were, brought to life again for our benefit.'

You perceive, therefore, brethren, that there is abundant reason for a portion of skepticism concerning the fidelity with which these early records have been transmitted; since they stand impeached of corruption, even by yourselves. But I only advert to the fact for the purpose of shewing its proper bearing on the proofs I have exhibited; for it is easy to see, that if I have been able to place before you such a body of evidence against your present system, from books

(294) Ad. S. Leonis Mag. op. præfatio. 'At SS. Patrum scripta, per quæ velut per alterum alveum veritas a Christo capite ad nos usque volventibus seculis traducitur, nondum ab errorum et interpolationum fœce satis purgata sunt, nondum suæ puritati plenè reddita: tametsi jam a centum quinquaginta et ampliùs annis hoc moliri cœperint haud mediocribus vigiliis viri impensè docti, ut nobis sancti Patres, toti quasi renascerentur.'

which your predecessors have thus confessedly interpolated, to suit the doctrine of their day, we should doubtless have made out a far stronger case, if the testimony of those primitive writers had remained in its original purity, and if the multitude of other authors which the Church of Rome did not approve, had been transmitted to us along with them.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

I conceive it proved by superabundant testimony, that the primitive Church of Rome professed to hold no authoritative supremacy over the other Churches, and that she interpreted the language of Christ to Peter, in precise accordance with the general voice of the fathers, as conveying no official grant of supreme power or domination. It was stated, however, as you probably recollect, in connexion with our remarks upon the testimony of Irenæus, that a secular primacy of influence must have belonged to her, on account of the vast superiority of her location; and that this was the root from which her claims to spiritual supremacy grew, into their subsequent magnitude. I doubt not, indeed, that the bishops of Rome conceived the idea of establishing this supremacy, at a very early day. Neither do I question their sincerity in thinking that the peace and prosperity of the Church would thereby be greatly promoted. The policy of earthly wisdom could find no objection to the theory of such a system. According to human judgment, it promised a fair and useful result. But these good men forgot that religion was not committed to the wisdom of this world. They forgot that the Almighty had predicted ruin and not success, as the final issue of every attempt to unite

God and Mammon. They lost sight of the distinguishing glory of the Gospel which chose the weak things of the world to confound the things that were mighty ; and in being wise above what was written, and in seeking that union from policy which could alone be given by the Spirit of holiness and truth, they did indeed lay the foundation of a wonderful fabric of ecclesiastical power, and it became, in the progress of a few centuries, a tower like that of Babel, whose summit was designed to reach the heavens : but the structure was human, not divine, and therefore it was subject to the usual fate of earthly mutation. It would be as unkind as it is useless to institute a comparison between the literal Babel, and the mystic Babylon. I prefer leaving that species of argument to other hands.

It may be asked, however, how the doctrine of papal supremacy could have been admitted by the Church, if it were not founded upon the authority of the Redeemer ? To this I would reply, that the rank and influence of the Roman See, having given it a great and increasing preponderance in the Councils of the Church, the Canons of these Councils by degrees confirmed its dignity. Thus the right of receiving appeals was conferred upon it first by the Council of Sardica, some years subsequent to the Council of Nice. The acknowledgement that it was the first of all the Churches, was made still later by the Council of Constantinople. The language of the Council of Carthage testified to the growth of Roman influence, and that of the Council of Chalcedon bore witness to its strength, while it sanctioned, in favor of Constantinople, the claims of a rival, which the fathers of that Council called 'A NEW ROME.' Besides these recognitions of Roman preponderance, the emperors, particularly Valentinian in the west, and Marcian in the east, had established the power of appeals *by law*,

and these causes combined, even so early as the time of pope Leo, in the middle of the fifth century, gave a considerable foothold to your^s doctrine. It is altogether beside my design, however, in this humble work, to assume the office of historian, and therefore I refer you to the pages of your own celebrated annalist, the candid, the learned, and the elaborate Fleury; who, although of course a champion for his Church, yet confesses and deplors the change which led her so far from the truth of her primitive system.

(295) 'The pure days of the Church,' saith this author, speaking of the close of the sixth century, 'are passed away. Rome, idolatrous, stained with so many crimes, and drunk with the blood of so many martyrs, was doomed to be punished, and divine vengeance was to be signalised upon her, in the face of all the nations.' Proceeding to apply the predictions of the Apocalypse to heathen Rome, your historian continues: 'The execution of the sentence followed in due season. Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire, after Constantine had transferred his seat to Byzantium: and from the time that the empire was divided, the emperors of the West resided at Ravenna, at Milan, and everywhere rather than at Rome. Thus she lost, by degrees, her splendor, her riches, her people. . . . Meanwhile she was taken and pillaged several times by the barbarians, who ravaged and tore in pieces all the western empire.' . . .

(295) Histoire Ecclesiastique par M. Fleury, Ed. de 1758. Tom. 13
Discours sur l'histoire ecclesiastique, depuis l'an 600. jusqu'à l'an 1100.

'Les beaux jours de l'église sont passés.

'Rome idolâtre, souillée de tant de crimes et enivrée du sang de tant de martyrs, devoit être punie, et la vengeance divine devoit éclater sur elle, à la face de toutes les nations. — L'exécution suivit en son tems. Rome cessa d'être la capitale de l'empire, depuis que Constantin en eut transféré le siège à Bizance: et depuis que l'em-

‘These barbarians, it is true, became converted; some sooner; some later, . . . but in becoming Christians, they did not abandon altogether their former character, they continued, for the most part, light, fickle, violent, and acted upon more by passion than by reason. They retained also their contempt for literature and the arts, and only occupied themselves with hunting and with war. Hence arose ignorance, even among the Romans who were their subjects. For the character of the dominant nation always prevails, and learning languishes, when honor and interest no longer sustain it.’

‘In the following ages, the most enlightened men, such as Bede, Alcuin, Hincmar, Gerbert, were affected by the misfortune of their times; desiring to attain all the sciences, they did not become thoroughly acquainted with any, and knew nothing with exactness or method. But what they most needed was that critical learning, which would have enabled them to distinguish false writings from true. For there were, at this period, a multitude of pieces, forged un-

pire fut partagé, les empereurs d'Occident résiderent à Ravenne, à Milan, et partout ailleurs qu'à Rome. Ainsi elle perdit peu à peu son éclat, ses richesses, son peuple. — Cependant elle fut prise et pillée plusieurs fois par les barbares, qui ravagèrent et mirent en pièces tout l'empire d'Occident.

Ces barbares, il est vrai, se convertirent; les uns plutôt, les autres plus tard; mais les barbares, en devenant Chrétiens, ne quitterent pas entièrement leurs anciennes mœurs, ils demeurèrent la plupart légers, changeans, emportés, agissant plus par passion que par raison. . . . Ces peuples continuoient dans leur mépris pour les lettres et pour les arts, ne s'occupant que de la chasse et de la guerre. De-là vint l'ignorance, même chez les Romains leurs sujets. Car les mœurs de la nation dominante prévalent toujours, et les études languissent, si l'honneur et l'intérêt ne les soutiennent.’ . . .

‘Dans les siècles suivans, les hommes les plus éclairés, comme Bede, Alcuin, Hincmar, Gerbert, se sentoient du malheur des tems: voulant embrasser toutes les sciences, ils n'en approfondissoient au-

der illustrious names ; and this not only by the heretics, but by the Catholics, and even with good intentions. Thus Virgil of Thaspis avows that he borrowed the name of St. Athanasius, in order to attract the attention of the Vandal Arians. In like manner, whenever they had not the acts of a martyr to read on the day of his festival, they composed the most probable or the most marvellous that they could : and thereby thought to promote the piety of the people. These false legends were chiefly fabricated on the occasion of the removal of relics, so frequent in the ninth century.'

'They also framed title deeds, whether to supply the place of genuine records which they had lost, or altogether fictions : as the famous donation of Constantine' (granting Rome to the pope) 'of which there was no doubt in France during the ninth century. But of all these forgeries, the most pernicious were the decretals attributed to the popes of the four first centuries, which inflicted an incurable wound

cune, et ne scavoient rien exactement. Ce qui leur manquoit le plus étoit la critique pour distinguer les pièces fausses des véritables. Car il y avoit dès-lors quantité d'écrits fabriqués sous des noms illustres, non seulement par des hérétiques, mais par des Catholiques, et même à bonne intention : J'ai marqué que Virgile de Thaspe avoue lui-même avoir emprunté le nom de Saint Athanase, pour se faire écouter des Vandales Ariens. Ainsi quand on n'avoit pas les actes d'un martyr pour lire au jour de sa fête, on en composoit les plus vraisemblables ou les plus merveilleux que l'on pouvoit : et par là l'on croyoit entretenir la piété des peuples. Ces fausses légendes furent principalement fabriquées à l'occasion des translations de reliques, si fréquentes dans le neuvième siècle.'

'On faisoit aussi des titres, soit à la place des véritables que l'on avoit perdus, soit absolument supposés : comme la fameuse donation de Constantin, dont on ne doutoit pas en France au neuvième siècle. Mais de toutes ces pièces fausses les plus pernicieuses furent les décrétales attribuées aux papes des quatre premiers siècles, qui ont fait une playe irréparable à la discipline de l'église, par les maximes nouvelles

on the discipline of the Church, by the new maxims which they introduced, for the judgments of bishops, and the authority of the pope.'

'Another effect of this ignorance, was to render men credulous and superstitious, for want of having sure principles of belief, and an exact knowledge of the duties of religion.'

'And a further consequence of the domination of the barbarians, was that the bishops and the clergy became hunters and warriors like the laity. The bishops had their vassals to serve at their order for the fiefs (or estates) which they held; and when the bishop himself was commanded by the king, he was obliged to march at the head of his troops. Charlemagne finding this right established, wished to relax it at the request of his people; and he dispensed with the personal service of the bishops, provided they sent their vassals. But this regulation was badly observed, and we find that afterwards, as well as before, bishops armed themselves, and fought, and were taken and killed in war.'

'But after the bishops found themselves lords, and ad-

qu'elles ont introduites touchant les jugemens des évêques et l'autorité du pape. . . . [p. 7.]

'Un autre effet de l'ignorance, est de rendre les hommes crédules et superstitieux, faute d'avoir des principes certains de créance et une connoissance exacte des devoirs de la religion.'

'Un autre effet de la domination des barbares, c'est que les évêques et les clercs devinrent chasseurs et guerriers comme les laïques.'

'Les évêques avoient leurs vassaux obligés à servir à leur ordre pour les fiefs qu'ils tenoient d'eux; et quand l'évêque lui-même étoit mandé par le roi, il devoit marcher à la tête de ses troupes. Charlemagne trouvant ce droit établi, voulut bien s'en relâcher à la priere de son peuple; et il dispensa les évêques de servir en personne, pourvu qu'ils envoyassent leur vassaux. Mais ce règlement fut mal observé, et nous voyons après comme devant, les évêques armés, combattans, pris et tués à la guerre.'

'Mais depuis que les évêques se virent seigneurs et admis en part

mitted on the part of the government of states, they supposed that they possessed, as bishops, what they only possessed as lords; and pretended to judge kings, not only in the tribunal of penitence, but in their councils. The sacred ceremonial introduced since the middle of the eighth century, served them for a pretext: the bishop, in placing the crown upon the king, seemed to confer the kingdom on the part of God.'

'The popes, believing, with reason, that they had as much and even more authority than the bishops, undertook very soon to regulate the disputes of sovereigns, not by the way of mediation and intercession only, but by authority: which was, in effect, to dispose of crowns.'

The condition of the papal court, under this system, is described by your candid historian upon the highest testimony, that of the famous Bernard, in the following terms: viz.

'St. Bernard represents to us,' saith Fleury, 'the consistency of the Cardinals, as a parliament, or a sovereign tribunal, occupied in judging causes from morning till night: and the pope who presides there, is so overwhelmed with affairs, that he hardly has time to breathe. The court of

du gouvernement des états, ils crurent avoir, comme évêques, ce qu'ils n'avoient que comme seigneurs: ils prétendirent juger les rois non-seulement dans le tribunal de la pénitence, mais dans les conciles. . . . La cérémonie du sacre, introduite depuis le milieu du huitième siècle, servit encore de prétexte: les évêques, en imposant la couronne, sembloient donner le royaume de la part de Dieu.' p. 22.

• Les papes croyant, avec raison, avoir autant et même plus d'autorité que les évêques, entreprirent bien-tôt de régler les différens entre les souverains: non par voie du médiation et d'intercession seulement, mais par autorité: ce qui en effet étoit disposer des couronnes.

Ib. Tom. 16. Discours 14. p. xiv.

'Saint Bernard nous représente le consistoire des cardinaux comme un parlement ou un tribunal souverain, occupé à juger des procès depuis le matin jusqu' au soir, et le pape qui y presidoit tellement ac-

Rome is full of advocates, of solicitors, of passionate pleaders, insincere, interested, seeking only to take each other by surprise, and each trying to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbour.'

'I know that this crowd of prelates and other strangers whom various interests attracted to Rome, brought great wealth to the city, and that her people fattened at the cost of all others: but I am ashamed to mention such an advantage when we are treating of religion. For, was the pope established at Rome in order to enrich, or in order to sanctify it?'

'The decretal of Gratian completed the work of confirming and extending the authority of the false decretals, which may be found scattered through the whole: for during more than three centuries no other canons were known than those of this collection; none other were followed in the schools and at the courts. Gratian had even gone farther than these decretals in order to extend the authority of the pope, maintaining that the pope was not subject to the

cablé d'affaires, qu' à peine avoit-il un moment pour respirer. La cour de Rome pleine d'avocats, de solliciteurs, de plaideurs passionnés, artificieux, interressés, ne cherchant qu'à se surprendre l'un l'autre et s'enrichir aux depens d'autrui.'

'Je sais que cette foule de prelates et d'autres étrangers que divers intérêts attiroient à Rome, y apportoit de grandes richesses, et que son peuple s'engraissoit aux depens de tous les autres: mais j'ai honte de faire mention d'un tel avantage lors qu'il s'agit de la religion. Le pape étoit-il donc établi à Rome pour l'enrichir ou pour la sanctifier?' p. xvi.

'Le decret de Gratien acheva d'affermir et d'etendre l'autorité des fausses decretales que l'on y trouve semées partout: car pendant plus de trois siecles on ne connoissoit point d'autres canons que ceux de ce recueil; on n'en suivoit point d'autres dans les ecoles et dans les tribunaux. Gratien avoit même encheri sur ces decretales pour etendre l'autorité du pape, soutenant qu'il n'étoit point soumis aux canons: ce qu'il dit de son chef et sans en apporter aucune preuve d'autorité.

canons : this he said of himself ; and without adducing any proof of authority. Thus was formed in the Latin Church a confused idea, that the power of the pope was without bounds ; and this principle once established, many consequences were drawn from it, in accordance with the articles formally expressed in the false decretals ; and the modern theologians have not sufficiently distinguished between these opinions, and that which is essential to the Catholic faith, concerning the primacy of the pope and the rules of the ancient discipline.'

As the corruption of the original constitution of the Church is thus attributed by Fleury to the ignorance which followed the irruption of barbarians into the Western empire, so he accounts for the greater purity of the Greek Church by remarking on their comparative love of sound learning. 'Among the Greeks,' saith he, 'all persons of respectability studied, the laity as well as the clergy ; and they instructed themselves in the original books, the Scriptures, the fathers, the ancient canons. You have seen,' continues the historian, 'that all their bishops, and even their patriarchs, were judged and often deposed in the Councils : that they did not ask leave of the pope to assemble ; and that there was no appeal to him from their decisions.'

Ainsi se forma dans l'église Latine une idée confuse que la puissance du pape étoit sans bornes ; ce principe une fois posé, on en a tiré plusieurs conséquences au-delà des articles exprimés formellement dans les fausses decretales, et les nouveaux theologiens n'ont pas assez distingué ces opinions d'avec l'essentiel de la foi catholique, touchant la primauté du pape et les regles de l'ancienne discipline.'

Ib. xix. 'Chez les Grecs tous les honnêtes gens etudioient, les laïques comme les clercs ; et ils s'instruisoient dans les livres originaux, l'écriture, les peres, les anciens canons, . . . Vous avez vu que tous leurs évêques et les patriarches mêmes étoient jugés et souvent déposés dans les conciles : qu'on ne demandoit point au pape la permission de les assembler, et qu'on n'appelloit point à lui de leurs juge-

Neither did they address themselves to him on the subject of the translation of bishops, nor of the erection of bishoprics: but followed the canons contained in the ancient code of the Greek Church.'

'But perhaps you will say; It is not surprising that the Greeks did not address themselves to the pope, either for appeals, or any other exercise of jurisdiction, since from the time of Photius, they did not recognize him as the Chief of the Church. But did they address themselves to him before that time? And during the period when they were most united with the Roman Church, did they observe any part of that which I call the new discipline? They were very far from it, because the Latins themselves did not observe it, and because this discipline was then unknown throughout the whole Church.'

You will see, brethren, in these extracts from one of your own best historians, a close approximation to the views of Christian antiquity which I have endeavoured to present, from the writings of the fathers. Something, indeed, Fleury allowed to Rome, in the shape of a primacy; and doubtless, with thousands of his learned and candid brethren, of whose doctrines we shall speak more largely, by and by, he would have reconciled, as well as he could, his fidelity to antiquity with his fidelity to his vows. But granting all this, I claim

mens. On ne s'adressoit point à lui pour les translations d'évêques ni les erections d'evêchés: on suivoit les canons compris dans l'ancien code de l'église Grêcque.

Ib. xx. 'Vous direz peut-être: Il ne faut pas s'étonner que les Grecs ne s'adressassent pas au pape, soit pour les appellations, soit pour tout le reste, puisque dès le tems de Photius, ils ne le reconnoissoit plus pour chef de l'église. Mais s'y adressoient-ils auparavant? Et dans les tems où ils étoient le plus unis avec l'église Romaine, observoient-ils rien de ce que j'appelle nouvelle discipline? Ils n'avoient garde de le faire, puisque les Latins mêmes ne le faisoient pas: et que cette discipline étoit encore inconnue à toute l'église.' . . .

his acknowledgment as conclusive upon the point which I have undertaken to establish—that A CHANGE—a vast and deplorable change, has passed over your primitive doctrine. The extent of this change may still be disputed, but the fact cannot be denied.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Resting, for the present, from our examination of antiquity, I proceed, according to our proposed plan, to examine the two conflicting theories concerning the limits of papal power, which have excited so much serious controversy amongst yourselves. The result of this examination will prove, as it seems to me, that the claims of your canon law have never been relinquished, but continue to represent your doctrine fairly to this day.

An author of your own, whom I presume you would allow to be amongst the most unexceptionable, shall furnish my text-book on this subject. The late Charles Butler Esqr. so well known for his legal erudition, his stores of general literature, his admirable tact, and his polished urbanity, has perhaps proved one of your happiest advocates in relation to the question before us: and his work entitled, 'The Book of the Roman Catholic Church,' in a series of letters addressed to the distinguished Dr. Southey, having been republished at Baltimore in A. D. 1834, is probably more easy of access than any other of the later publications to which I could refer.

From his version of the Creed of pope Pius IV. I extract five clauses, relating to our subject. This symbol, as he correctly states, (p. 8) 'was published in 1564, in the

form of a bull, addressed to all the faithful in Christ. It was immediately received throughout the universal Church; and, since that time, has ever been considered, in every part of the world, *as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith.* Non-Catholics, on their admission into the Catholic Church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, without restriction or qualification.'

1. The first clause of this creed, on which some remarks may be necessary, is as follows: 'I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the holy Catholic and apostolic Church.'

2 'I also admit the sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the holy mother Church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; *nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise, than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.*'

3. 'I acknowledge the holy Catholic and apostolical Roman Church *the mother and mistress of all Churches,* and *I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.*'

4. 'I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and likewise *I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and anathematized by the Church.*'

5. 'This true Catholic faith, *out of which none can be saved,* which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N. promise, now and ever, most constantly to hold and profess

whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life, Amen.'

After setting forth this Creed, the author proceeds to say, (p. 11.) 'It is most true, that the Roman Catholics believe their doctrines to *be unchangeable*; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that *what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be.*'

Now brethren, inasmuch as this, your present creed, contains an oath of 'TRUE OBEDIENCE to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles and Vicar of Christ,' a definition of the powers of the pope is absolutely essential; since it is plainly impossible to know what *true obedience* means, unless we understand the extent to which the pope has a just right to demand it.

And here I must trouble you with several pages, extracted from Mr. Butler's able work, which well deserve your close and careful attention. 'A chain of Roman-Catholic writers,' saith he, (p. 104) 'might be supposed: on the first link we might place those who have immoderately exalted the prerogative of the pope: on the last we might place those who have unduly depressed it; and the centre link might be considered to represent the canon of the 10th. session of the Council of Florence, which defined that *full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome, in the person of Peter, to feed, regulate, and govern the universal Church, as expressed in the general Councils and holy Canons.* THIS IS THE DOCTRINE OF THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE,' continues Mr. Butler, 'and beyond it no Roman-Catholic is required to believe. Some opinions, represented by the immediate links on each side of the central link, are allowed. Those on one side, may be supposed to represent Orsi, and the

author of the learned treatise entitled, *Quis est Petrus?* who explain the doctrine expressed in the Council of Florence, in a manner very favorable to the papal prerogative; while the intermediate links on the other side, represent Bossuet, La Marca, and other writers, who construe the canon in a more limited sense. The former have received the appellation of *Transalpine* divines; the latter are called *Cisalpine*. I will endeavor to present a short view of their different systems; first premising what the Roman Catholic Church considers to be of faith upon this important article of her creed.'

‘ *Universal doctrine of the
Roman-Catholics respecting the supremacy of the pope.*’

‘ It is an article of Roman-Catholic faith, that the pope has, by divine right, first, a supremacy of rank; second, a supremacy of jurisdiction in the spiritual concerns of the Roman-Catholic Church; and third, the principal authority in defining articles of faith. In consequence of these prerogatives, the pope holds a rank, *splendidly pre-eminent*, over the highest dignitaries of the Church; has a right to convene Councils, and preside over them by himself, or his legates, and to confirm the election of bishops. *Every ecclesiastical cause may be brought to him as the last resort, by appeal; he may promulgate definitions and formularies of faith to the Universal Church; and when the general body or a great majority of her prelates, have assented to them, either by formal consent, or tacit assent, all are bound to acquiesce in them. Rome, they say, in such a case, has spoken, and the cause is determined.* To the pope, in the opinion of all Roman Catholics, belongs also a general superintendence of the concerns of the Church; a right when the canons provide no line of action, to direct

the proceedings ; and, in extraordinary cases, to act in opposition to the canons. In those spiritual concerns, in which, by strict right, his authority is not definitive, he is entitled to the highest respect, and deference. Thus far, there is no difference of opinion among Roman-Catholics: but here, they divaricate into the Transalpine and Cisalpine opinions.'

' Difference between the Transalpine and Cisalpine doctrines, on the temporal and spiritual power of the pope.'

' The great difference between the Transalpine and Cisalpine divines on the power of the pope, formerly was, that the Transalpine divines attributed to the pope a divine right to the exercise, indirect at least, of temporal power, for effecting a spiritual good ; and, in consequence of it, maintained, that the supreme power of every state was so far subject to the pope, that when he deemed that the bad conduct of the sovereign rendered it essential to the good of the Church that he should reign no longer, the pope was then authorized, by his divine commission, to deprive him of his sovereignty, and absolve his subjects from their obligations of allegiance ; and that even, on ordinary occasions, he might enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation and jurisdiction, by civil penalties. On the other hand, the Cisalpine divines affirmed, that the pope had no right, either to interfere in temporal concerns, or to enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation or jurisdiction, by temporal power ; and consequently, had no right to deprive a sovereign of his sovereignty, to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, or to enforce his spiritual authority over either, by civil penalties. THIS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION EXISTS

NOW NO LONGER, THE TRANSALPINE DIVINES HAVING AT LENGTH ADOPTED, ON THIS SUBJECT, THE CISALPINE OPINIONS.'

Here, brethren, you will be pleased to mark, with especial care, the words of your advocate ; because I shall, by and by, have occasion to recur to the passage, and ask for the EVIDENCE on which the assertion is founded.

'But though, on this important point,' continues Mr. Butler, '*both parties are at last agreed, THEY STILL DIFFER ON OTHERS.*'

'In spiritual concerns, the *Transalpine* opinions ascribe to the pope a *superiority and controlling power over the whole Church, should she chance to oppose his decrees*, and consequently, over a general Council, her representative ; and the same *superiority and controlling power, even in the ordinary course of business, over the canons of the universal Church*. They describe the pope as the *fountain of all ecclesiastical order, jurisdiction, and dignity*. They assign to him the power of judging all persons in spiritual concerns ; of calling all spiritual causes to his cognizance ; of *constituting, suspending, and deposing bishops* ; of *conferring all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, in or out of his dominions, by paramount authority* ; of *exempting individuals and communities from the jurisdiction of their prelates* ; of *evoking to himself, or to judges appointed by him, any cause actually pending in an ecclesiastical court* ; and of *receiving immediate appeals from all sentences of ecclesiastical courts, though they be inferior courts*, from which there is a regular appeal to an intermediate superior court. They,^g further, ascribe to the pope the *extraordinary prerogative of PERSONAL INFALLIBILITY*, when he undertakes to issue a solemn decision on any point of faith.'

‘The Cisalpines affirm, that in spirituals the pope is subject, in doctrine and discipline, to the Church, and to a general Council, representing her; that he is subject to the canons of the Church, and cannot, except in an extreme case, dispense with them; that even in such a case, his dispensation is subject to the judgment of the Church; that the bishops derive their jurisdiction from God himself immediately, and not derivatively through the pope; that he has no right to confer bishoprics, or other spiritual benefices of any kind, the patronage of which, by common right, prescription, concordat, or any other general rule of the Church, is vested in another. They admit, that an appeal lies to the pope from the sentence of the metropolitan; but assert, that no appeal lies to the pope, and that he can evoke no cause to himself, during the intermediate process. They affirm, that a general council may without, and even against the pope’s consent, reform the Church. They deny his personal infallibility, and hold that he may be deposed by the Church, or a general Council, for heresy or schism; and they admit that in an extreme case, where there is a great division of opinion, an appeal lies from the pope to a general Council.’

‘Such are the Transalpine, and such the Cisalpine opinions, respecting the power of the pope,’ concludes Mr. Butler.—‘*Both are tolerated by the Roman-Catholic Church, BUT NEITHER SPEAKS ITS FAITH:* this, as I have mentioned, is contained in the canon of the Council of Florence which I have cited. All the doctrine of that canon on the point in question, and nothing but that doctrine, is propounded by the Roman-Catholic Church to be believed by the faithful: for this doctrine, but for this doctrine only,

and the consequences justly deducible from it, are the Roman-Catholics answerable.'

The whole ground, brethren, may now be considered fairly open before us, and I shall commence the proposed examination in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

The plain statements of your learned and ingenious advocate being exhibited in his own words, the fact is not to be disputed that there are four definitions of the papal supremacy recognised amongst you :

1. The *Transalpine* doctrine, which, besides all his other prerogatives, ascribes to the pope, *by divine right*, the power of dethroning sovereigns, and absolving subjects from their allegiance, and enforcing his authority by civil penalties.

2. The *Transalpine* doctrine, which rejects this exercise of supreme *temporal* power ; but still grants to the pope a perfect control over Councils, bishops, canons, and all causes of a spiritual nature ; considering him, as the fountain of ecclesiastical order, jurisdiction, and dignity, entitled to confer all ecclesiastical benefices, in or out of his dominions ; authorized to exempt communities and individuals from the jurisdiction of their own prelates, and endowed with infallibility whenever he undertakes to decide on any point of faith.

3. The *Cisalpine* doctrine, which reduces the pope to a measure of dignity inferior to general Councils, and makes him subject to the Church ; which places infallibility in the decision of the whole Church, speaking by general Councils

approved by the pope ; but which still allows an appeal to his judgment as the last resort in all ecclesiastical causes, and acknowledges that he may go in opposition to the canons, *in extreme cases*.

4. And fourthly, the *doctrine of the Council of Florence*, which, according to our author, is the only one binding on the Roman-Catholic as a matter of faith ; for he tells us, that although the Church of Rome *tolerates* the second and third of the above doctrines, yet neither of them represents her fairly. Now the language of the Council of Florence, as translated by your advocate, is this: that 'FULL POWER WAS DELEGATED TO THE BISHOP OF ROME, IN THE PERSON OF PETER, TO FEED, REGULATE, AND GOVERN THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH, AS EXPRESSED IN THE GENERAL COUNCILS AND HOLY CANONS.' But what this phrase; *full power*, means, Mr. Butler will not allow us to learn, either from the Transalpine divines, or from their Cisalpine opponents ; nor has he been pleased to inform us himself ; so that if I designed to turn Roman-Catholic to-morrow, and were called upon, according to your rule, to *promise and swear TRUE OBEDIENCE to the bishop of Rome*, I should despair of finding any standard by which to measure the extent of this comprehensive obligation.

But this is not the whole of my embarrassment ; since I am perfectly unable to discover any evidence for Mr. Butler's assertion, that the first and strongest of the Transalpine expositions, which claims the temporal as well as the spiritual supremacy for the pope, has been abandoned.

Was not this the prevailing sentiment in the year 1564, when pope Pius IV. set forth the very Creed which is now presented as the universally received summary of your system ?

Was it not the doctrine of your Church when a subse-

quent pope, Pius V. acted on the principle, by publishing his famous bull, deposing queen Elizabeth and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance?

Was it not the doctrine of your Church when that bull was renewed by pope Sixtus Quintus? Mr. Butler, admitting these unquestionable facts in his 222nd page, does indeed say, 'you cannot express yourself concerning these transactions in stronger terms of condemnation, than I have used.' Nor do I question, brethren, the sincerity of the censures, which he, and thousands of your communion, have passed upon them. But after all, do these censures make or alter your doctrine? Or are we to suppose, that the pope and the body of Transalpine divines who had so long supported *the divine right* of this prerogative, have now abandoned it; simply because it has of late years been disapproved by their Cisalpine brethren?

It was in the latter end of the seventeenth century, viz. in A. D. 1682, when the Clergy of France made the first successful assault upon this doctrine in their famous *Declaration*, explicitly pronouncing, that 'kings and sovereigns are not subjected to any ecclesiastical power, by the order of God, in temporal things; and their subjects cannot be dispensed from the obedience which they owe to them, nor absolved from their oath of allegiance.' (296) And how, I beseech you, was this declaration received? Hear the account, brethren, given by a distinguished author among yourselves. 'No sooner was it published,' saith he, 'than

(296) *Abrégé de la Défense de la Déclaration de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France, de 1682, Introduction*, p. iv. 'Les rois et les souverains ne sont soumis à aucune puissance ecclésiastique, par l'ordre de Dieu, dans les choses temporelles; leurs sujets ne peuvent être dispensés de l'obéissance qu'ils leur doivent, ni absous du serment de fidélité.'

a *multitude of writers*, excited by different motives, hastened to combat it. Some, delivering themselves with a blind zeal to every thing which the spirit of party could inspire, of tricks, of subtilties, of false applications, accommodated the writings of the fathers to their own opinions, instead of rectifying their opinions by the wisdom and authority of those writings. The others, forgetful even of the laws of decency, and borrowing from a scandalous animosity the most reproachful qualifications, spoke only of thunders and anathemas against the bishops of France.' (297) And had the bishops of France been exposed to the storm with no other protection than the strength of their argument, the result might have proved that these menaces were not intended to evaporate in words alone.

But you know, brethren, that the powerful influence of Louis XIV. was immediately displayed in defence of his clergy, who, on this occasion, had not so much preceded, as followed the judgment of their royal master. The Declaration bears date the 19th of March, 1682, and only four days afterwards, viz. on the 23d of the same month, the edict of the throne was registered in the Parliament of France. By this edict the king forbade all persons, secular and regular, subjects or strangers throughout his dominions, to teach or write any thing contrary to this famous Declaration, and enjoined it strictly upon the archbishops, bishops, doctors

(297) Ib. 'A peine cette declaration fut-elle publiée, qu'une multitude d'écrivains excités par différens motifs, s'empressèrent de la combattre. Les uns se livrant avec un zèle aveugle à tout ce que l'esprit de parti peut inspirer de détours, de subtilités, de fausses applications, accommodoient les écrits des pères à leurs opinions, au lieu de rectifier leurs opinions sur la sagesse et l'autorité de ces écrits. Les autres, oubliant jusqu'aux lois de la décence, et empruntant d'une scandaleuse animosité les qualifications les plus injurieuses, ne parloient que de foudres et d'anathèmes contre les évêques de France :'

of divinity, licentiate, &c. to inculcate diligently the doctrine therein contained. (298) Whether, under these circumstances, the *toleration* of the *Cisalpine* doctrine on this particular subject, was considered a point of necessary policy, lest the powerful kingdom of France should be forever lost to the Church of Rome, as England had been, by an ill-timed severity, is a question which I leave to the judgment of wiser heads than mine.

Certain it is, however, that the difficulty created by this Declaration was not accommodated soon, nor without trouble. For 'we must confess,' saith the same author, 'that some clouds arose between the Court of Rome and France, upon the subject of the Declaration of the clergy; and that pope *Innocent XI.* refused for some time to send bulls of institution to several bishops named for vacant dioceses. But all these clouds were dissipated by the letters which these bishops wrote to pope *Innocent XII.* EACH FOR HIMSELF, PROTESTING TO HIS HOLINESS, THAT THE CLERGY OF FRANCE HAD NEVER INTENDED TO MAKE A DECREE OF FAITH BY THEIR DECLARATION, AND ASSURING HIM BESIDES OF THEIR PROFOUND SUBMISSION TO THE RIGHTS OF THE HOLY CHAIR. *Innocent XII.* exacted nothing farther, says M. Bossuet, and all the clamors, all the machinations, all the menaces of our enemies did not hinder this pope, truly holy, from receiving us and all the clergy of France, with kindness and charity, in his paternal bosom.' (299)

It appears, then, that the supposed abandonment of the

(298) Ib. At the end.

(299) Ib. Introduction, p. xxv. 'Ici cependant nous devons convenir qu'il s'éleva quelques nuages entre la cour de Rome et la France, au sujet de la déclaration du clergé, et que le pape *Innocent xi.* refusa pendant quelque temps des bulles d'institution à plusieurs évêques

pope's temporal power rests on nothing stronger than the unwilling *sufferance* of a declaration which was certainly disapproved by Innocent XI; as certainly *not approved* by his successor; and made the subject of something very like an apology, by the French bishops themselves. I confess I cannot see in this, a sufficient warrant for Mr. Butler's assertion that 'the TRANSALPINE DIVINES HAVE AT LENGTH ADOPTED ON THIS SUBJECT THE CISALPINE OPINIONS.'

It is indeed said, that Mr. Pitt suggested to the English Roman-Catholics, three questions embracing this topic, to be sent to the universities of the Sorbonne, Louvaine, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca; the answers to which were all returned in accordance to the Cisalpine doctrine. And it is equally unquestionable that the oath taken by the English Roman-Catholics, under the provisions of the Act passed for their relief, in the year 1791, condemns and abjures the doctrine of the pope's temporal power in plain terms. (300) But how do these facts affect the question? Have these five universities, and the British Roman-Catholics, *without the assent of either pope or Council*, power to pronounce an authoritative construction in a case like this? You know, brethren, that such an allegation would be regarded by you all as totally preposterous.

nommés à des sièges vacans. Mais tous ces nuages furent dissipés par les lettres que ces évêques nommés écrivirent au pape *Innocent xii.* chacun en leur particulier, pour protester à sa sainteté que le clergé de France n'avoit jamais eu l'intention de faire un décret de foi par sa déclaration; l'assurant d'ailleurs de leur profonde soumission aux droits du St. Siège. *Innocent xii n'en exigea pas davantage*, dit M. Bossuet, et toutes les clameurs, toutes les machinations, toutes les menaces de nos ennemis n'empêchèrent pas ce pape, vraiment saint, de nous recevoir et tout le Clergé de France, avec douceur et charité dans son sein paternel.'

(300) See appendix to Mr. Butler's book, p. 287, 8, and 9.

Let me, therefore, solicit your serious attention to the true state of the question. That it is of the very highest importance to you all, from the pope, who claims this *true obedience*, down to the lowest and the least who *swears* that he will faithfully render it, can be denied by no man. It enters into your Creed, the creed of pope Pius IV, which your Church allows to be the universally received summary of your faith. *Out of this faith*, saith this creed in its last clause, 'NONE CAN BE SAVED;' and herein it well sustains the Doway catechism which declares, 'that he *who has not a due subordination and connexion to the pope and Councils*, MUST NEEDS BE DEAD, and cannot be accounted a member of the Church' in any sense whatever. A principle so fundamental, so universal, so essential, in your esteem, to the very being of your Church, ought surely to be *understood and satisfactorily defined amongst yourselves*. Instead of which, your own able advocate, himself a profound jurist, and better qualified, perhaps, than any man in England, to put your doctrine of papal supremacy in the most favorable light, gives us *four* statements of the matter, of which three are perfectly irreconcilable; and the remaining one, the Canon of Florence, which he pronounces to be the only one that truly represents the faith of the Church, was generally interpreted, for many successive centuries, to mean, what your advocate tells us, is now as generally abandoned. And yet the doctrines of your Church are pronounced *unchangeable*; for it is a tenet of your creed, in the words of Mr. Butler, that what your faith *'ever has been, such it now is, and such it ever will be.'* Ah, brethren! you will not blame my stupidity if I cannot comprehend the *unchangeableness* of a Creed, the meaning of which its own best friends find it so hard to discover: since they refer us to three different and jarring interpretations of

the same thing, and then gravely inform us that we cannot depend upon any of them.

But there is one feature of your papal system in which you all agree. It is this: that the pope, whatever his other powers may be, *is the supreme judge of the Church.* For in the section of Mr. Butler's work where he lays down the *universal doctrine* of the Roman-Catholics respecting the supremacy of the pope, he expressly says:*

'It is an article of Roman-Catholic faith that the pope has, *by divine right*, 1. a supremacy of rank, 2. a supremacy of jurisdiction in the spiritual concerns of the Roman-Catholic Church, and 3. the principal authority in defining articles of faith.'—'Every ecclesiastical cause *may be brought to him*, AS THE LAST RESORT, *by appeal*; he may promulgate definitions and formularies of faith to the universal Church, and when the general body, or a great majority of the prelates, have assented to them, *either by formal consent, or tacit assent*, ALL ARE BOUND TO ACQUIESCE. Rome, they say, in such a case, has spoken, and the cause is determined.'—'Thus far, saith your advocate, in conclusion, *there is no difference of opinion among Roman-Catholics.*'

Now, brethren, I beseech you tell me, what is the worth of your *Cisalpine* definition, according to the above principle of faith, admitted by all? Until the pope, who is the only judge in the last resort, has given his formal decision, where is the authority of your latter doctrine? And therefore I cannot help thinking, that Mr. Butler, who was so profoundly versed in legal science, must have smiled within himself at the weakness of his argument, when he urged the oath established by the British Parliament for the Roman-Catholics, and the answers of *five Universities*, and

*See page 360.

the opinions of the Gallican and English divines, with others, as settling such a question. If Mr. Pitt had doubts concerning the powers of the Lord Chancellor of England, it would be an amusing device to recommend the declaration of an assembly of country justices, and the opinions of five chamber counsellors, in the very face of the authoritative decrees and practice of the Court of Chancery itself. And if, on such grounds as these, men should be told, that the former principles of Equity in England had been abandoned, such an assurance would hardly be thought worthy of any other answer than a smile of contempt. But I pray you brethren, how much more to the purpose has been the course taken on the question before us? The pope, you tell us, *by divine right*, holds a supremacy of jurisdiction. All questions may be determined by him in *the last resort*, by appeal. *Rome has then spoken*, according to your phraseology, *and the cause is determined*. Has this cause been so determined, against the Transalpine, or in favor of the Cisalpine opinions? Has there been any appeal to Rome upon the question? Nay, in the selection of his five Universities, did not Mr. Pitt set down *three* who were *previously known* to hold the Cisalpine opinions, the Sorbonne, Louvaine, and Doway, (the only three, with the answers of which Mr. Butler's work has favored us) while the other two were the universities of *Alcala* and *Salamanca*, so that not one of the five was even on Italian territory! So fearful does he seem to have been of the real doctrine of Rome.

But *Rome has spoken*, and the cause *has been determined*, over and over again, according to your own unquestioned doctrine. From the days of Gregory VII. up to the time of Sixtus V. the claim of temporal as well as spiritual supremacy was constantly proposed by the popes as an ar-

ticle of faith, acquiesced in both tacitly and professedly by the great body of the Church, and therefore, by your own principles, irrevocably bound upon the whole. It is not my object, brethren, to enter more deeply into historical details than the nature of my subject requires ; but let me cite a few sentences from the book last quoted, in order to shew, *from the facts admitted by the Cisalpines themselves*, how the question must stand, in the event of your submitting the canon of Florence to the construction of your only definitive tribunal.

‘Gregory is the first,’ saith our author, ‘who endeavored to subject all the crowns to the obedience of the popes in temporal things.’ (301)

‘After the death of Gregory VII,’ there were many provincial Councils holden, in which what he had done was approved : chiefly however, under Victor III, and Urban II; afterwards Calixtus II, in a council at Rheims, excommunicated Henry V, and gave his subjects absolution from their oath of allegiance ; so completely had the example of Gregory VII, established this false doctrine, in the mind of the Romans. What took place between Alexander III, and Frederic I. between Innocent III. the emperor Otho, and John, king of England, is equally the fruit of the enterprize of this first author of the papal monarchy.’ (302)

Abrégé de la défense de la déclaration de l’assemblée du Clergé de France, p. 10. Innovations de Gregoire VII.

(301) ‘Gregoire est le premier qui ait voulu assujétir toutes les couronnes à l’obéissance des papes, dans les choses temporelles.’

(302) Ib. p. 11. ‘Après la mort de Grégoire VII. il se tint plusieurs conciles particuliers, où l’on approuva ce qu’il avoit fait ; et principalement sous Victor III. et Urbain II. ensuite Calixte II, dans un concile de Reims, excommunia Henry V, et donna à ses sujets l’absolution du serment de fidélité ; tant l’exemple de Gregoire VII, avoit établi cette fausse doctrine, dans l’esprit des Romains.’

‘The third canon of the Council of Lateran, held under Innocent III, commands all feudal lords to banish heretics from their lands, to take an oath concerning it, and in case any one should fail to fulfil it for a whole year, it directs that the pope be apprised, in order that he may expose the property of the offender for a prey, and absolve his vassals from their obedience.’ (303) I may observe here, brethren, that your Cisalpine author labours to distinguish this case from the case of sovereigns; but manifestly, even on his own ground, it would be only a question of degrees. The principle involved in the case of the sovereign and in that of the feudal lord, is precisely the same. If the Council was infallible in sanctioning the one, it would be equally infallible in sanctioning the other.

Again, your author acknowledges, that (304) ‘The Council of Trent, in the xxv. session, deprives princes of the possession of cities, in which they permit duels.’ His argument to evade this fact is amusing. ‘The Council marks clearly enough,’ saith he, ‘that it only speaks of those places which princes hold as fiefs of the Church. And this decree was rejected in the Parliament of Paris, in 1593, as being contrary to the rights of sovereigns, although

(303) *Ib.* p. 12. ‘Le troisieme canon du IV Concile de Latran, tenu sous Innocent III. ordonne à tous les Seigneurs de chasser les hérétiques de leurs terres, d’en faire le serment, et en cas que quelqu’un y manque dans un an, il ordonne que le pape en soit averti, pour exposer leur biens en proie, et absoudre leurs vassaux de l’obéissance qui ils leur doivent.’

(304) *Ib.* p. 13. ‘Le concile de Trente, dans la XXV session, prive les princes de la possession des villes, dans lesquelles ils permettent le duel. Mais ce concile marque assez clairement, qu’il ne parle que des lieux que les princes tiennent en fiefs de l’Eglise. Et on rejeta ce décret dans les états tenus à Paris, en 1593, comme contraires aux droits des souverains; quoique ces états fussent tenus pendant la ligue. Ce n’étoit d’ailleurs qu’un décret de discipline.’

it was during the period of the league. And besides it was only a decree of discipline.'

You perceive clearly, brethren, the weakness of this reasoning, when applied to the main question, viz. whether the Church of Rome maintained that princes were subject, in temporals as well as spirituals, to the pope's authority. If the French parliament thought the Council of Trent referred only to the fiefs of the Church, why was this decree rejected as contrary to the rights of sovereigns? And even if it were limited to the fiefs of the Church, by what right could the Council of Trent add a *new condition* to the tenure—and one so important that a breach of it should work a forfeiture—unless it were by the general right which had been claimed over all princes, for centuries before?

But I proceed to another example, which your author admits and endeavors to evade, as follows: (305) 'Pope

(305) Ib. 'Innocent IV. assembla un concile à Lyon, dans lequel il déposa l'empereur Frédéric II. ou plutôt il confirma la déposition de ce prince, faite par Grégoire IX, quelques années auparavant. Nous conviendrons d'abord que l'opinion du pouvoir des papes, touchant la déposition des princes, étoit alors tellement répandue, qu'il n'y avoit que les personnes les plus éclairées qui soutinssent l'ancienne vérité. Mais nous dirons aussi que la déposition de l'empereur ne fut pas un décret du concile. Ce ne fut qu'une sentence pontificale, prononcée en présence du concile, et non par l'autorité du concile.—Nous dirons qu'Innocent IV. supposant, sans hésiter, qu'il pouvoit déposer un prince qui abusoit de son autorité, délibéra seulement si les fautes de Frédéric méritoient cette peine, mais qu'il ne mit nullement en délibération, si, en vertu du pouvoir pontifical, il pouvoit lier l'empereur et délier ses sujets, ce qui auroit été nécessaire pour faire passer cet article, comme une chose décidée par l'Eglise. Nous dirons enfin que si c'étoit une décision d'un concile général, ce seroit une hérésie de soutenir le contraire. Et cependant jamais on n'a traité d'hérétiques, ni la faculté de théologie de Paris, ni les parlemens de France, qui ont soutenu que la dépendance des rois étoit contraire à la parole de Dieu.'

Innocent IV.,' saith he, 'assembled a Council at Lyons, in which he deposed the emperor Frederick II. or rather he confirmed the deposition of this prince, declared by Gregory IX. some years before. We shall grant, in the first place, that the opinion of the power of the popes, concerning the deposition of princes, was then so diffused, that there were none but the most enlightened persons who sustained the ancient doctrine. But we shall also say, that the deposition of the emperor was not a decree of the Council. It was only *a pontifical sentence, pronounced in the presence of the Council*, and not *by the authority of the Council*. We shall say that Innocent IV. supposing, without hesitation, that he could depose a prince who abused his authority, deliberated only whether Frederick deserved this punishment; but that he never took into consideration, whether, by force of the papal power, he could bind the emperor and loose his subjects; which would have been necessary, in order that this article might be passed for a matter decided by the Church. We shall say, in fine, that if this were a decision of a general Council, it would be a heresy to maintain the contrary. And yet they have never treated as heretics, either the faculty of Theology of Paris, or the parliament of France, who have maintained that the dependence of kings was contrary to the word of God.'

Here, brethren, it seems to me, that your Cisalpine logician is particularly unfortunate. For first, he relies on the weak distinction, that what was done *in* the Council could not be said to be approved *by* the Council. A much better argument is urged by Bossuet when it suited his purpose, in another part of the same book, where, even on the supposition that the Council of Constance was not a general Council, he yet very properly contends, that if it published an unanimous decree, *which was in no respect censur-*

ed by the Church, no one should presume to assail it. 'For,' saith he, (306) 'here is precisely the case where the maxim ought to be applied: *Not to oppose error is to approve it*: a maxim chiefly true, when questions of faith are concerned, and above all, when error comes forward under the name of a general Council. Silence on such an occasion becomes a real approbation, at least on the part of those, who, in quality of bishops, and of the pope, the chief of the Church, are by their rank obliged to speak.' Apply this passage, brethren, to the act of Innocent IV, done in the Council of Lyons, and it is surely conclusive upon the sense of your Church in reference to the point in question.

But in the second place, your author grants, that Innocent, in this instance, *confirmed* what *Gregory IX. had done some years before*; that the opinion was then *so diffused* that '*none but the most enlightened sustained the ancient doctrine*;' and that the pope supposed, *without hesitation*, that he possessed the power of deposing princes. What better proof than this could be required, to exhibit the strength of the precedents which had been followed so long by your supreme ecclesiastical Judges? The point was *taken for granted*, assumed *without hesitation*, as a principle which needed not to be considered formally by the Council, because no man was supposed to question its truth.

The concluding remarks of your Cisalpine author, where he asserts, that 'if this were the decision of the Council it

(306) Ib. p. 216. 'Car voilà précisément le cas où doit avoir lieu cette maxime: *c'est approuver l'erreur que de ne pas s'y opposer*: maxime principalement vraie, lorsqu'il s'agit des questions de foi, et surtout lorsque l'erreur se produit sous le nom d'un concile œcuménique. Le silence dans une telle circonstance devient une véritable approbation, au moins de la part de ceux qui, en qualité d'évêques, et de pape chef de l'église, sont par leur état obligés de parler.'

would be heresy to maintain the contrary, and yet the French who opposed the doctrine had never been treated as heretics,' seems, to my mind, to be weakness itself. That immediately upon the Declaration of 1682 they had been *denounced as heretics*, by the Transalpine divines, is asserted by Bossuet in the plainest terms. (307) 'They have gone so far,' saith he, 'as to proscribe the Declaration, as *favoring heretics*, despoiling the Roman Pontiff of his primacy, overturning the apostolic chair; absurd, detestable, perilous in faith, distilling the venom of the most frightful schism, under a false covering of piety. But the most furious of them all,' continues he, 'is the archbishop of Valentia. He begins by saying that *whoever does not admit the infallibility of the pope is a heretic.*' That they had not also been *treated* as heretics—that the popes have *suffered* the Cisalpine doctrine to be broached and defended—is indeed true; but it may be accounted for by a simple recurrence to the *temper of the times*. Surely, however, brethren, it cannot be necessary for me to remind you, that the *doctrine* of your ecclesiastical law is one thing; and the *execution* of it is another.

I ask, therefore, that you will add these examples to the instances in English history which Mr. Butler deplores; and I shall put it to your own good sense and candor to say, what would the supreme judge of all ecclesiastical questions—the pope himself—be likely to pronounce, if the point were submitted to him, instead of the Cisalpine di-

(307) Ib. 42. 'Ils vont jusqu'à le proscrire comme favorisant les hérétiques, dépouillant le pontife Romain de sa primauté, renversant le siège apostolique; absurde, détestable, périlleux dans la foi, distillant le venin du schisme le plus affreux, au travers d'une fausse écorce de piété. Mais le plus furieux de tous, c'est l'archevêque de Valence. Il commence par dire que quiconque n'admet pas l'infaillibilité du pape est hérétique.'

vines, and the five selected universities? Granting, if you please, that the canon of the Council of Florence is your **RULE OF FAITH**, as Mr. Butler, your able advocate, states so expressly; you know, full well, brethren, that laws are always best understood, when they have received their construction from judicial authority. And although it is admitted, that construction, however long established, may be changed, yet it is a settled maxim that it ought not to be changed, without the strongest and most weighty reasons. But what reasons could be assigned for passing a new construction on the canon of Florence? Would it not be the duty of the pope to consider, that before this Council was holden, the practice of his predecessors, with the sanction of several councils, had fixed the claim of the temporal supremacy; that the fathers of Florence were, therefore, perfectly familiar with the doctrine; and that there is nothing in the language of the canon intimating the design of disturbing its exercise? For if they had intended to restrict this power, it is plain that they would have intimated it by *negative* words. Since the world began, laws intended to restrain existing evils, have been expressed in the language of prohibition. Instead of which, the Canon professes to establish nothing new, but gives the sanction of the Council to all that had been done, by saying, that *Full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome in the person of Peter, to feed, regulate, and govern the universal Church.* &c. Would not the pope be further likely to consider, that after the passage of this Canon, there was a continuance of the same claims and acts of deposition as before, without any other obstacle than that which the resistance of the sovereigns themselves occasionally presented: that the clergy made no objection, save in France; and that even

there, when Innocent III. issued his bull against King John of England, deposing him, and at the same time charged Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, and take possession of the vacant throne, the French King admitted, without scruple, the validity of the transfer, and prepared to avail himself of the papal prerogative accordingly? I believe history does not record any opposition of the Clergy of France on that occasion. With all these centuries of precedents, with the claims of papal consistency at stake, with the whole edifice of ecclesiastical infallibility to be sustained or prostrated by his decision, could you expect the pope to sanction any other construction, than that which his predecessors had established? Surely not, my brethren. And therefore I am compelled to conclude, that the oath to render *true obedience* to your supreme pontiff, takes high precedence of every human obligation, as your system now stands; and that there is, as yet, no sufficient warrant for any other definition of papal power, than that which has been inscribed upon the history of nations, in characters of blood.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

I shall devote a short chapter to the consideration of the change which has taken place in the mode of electing the pope, and to such particulars of the ceremonies established at his installation, as may assist in fixing the construction of his powers, according to the best information I can obtain of your present system.

That the bishop of Rome, as well as all other bishops, was elected in primitive times, by the clergy of his own city and diocese, with the concurring suffrages of the people, is a fact so manifest throughout the writings of the fathers, that it cannot be, and never has been, questioned by any. The extract on p. 117 from the letter of Cyprian to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, would of itself be conclusive on the point, and you are doubtless familiar, besides, with the learned treatise of your own P. Sirmondi, S. I. inserted in the 5th Vol. of Hardouin's Councils (p. 1426.) where the subject is treated at large, and formularies are given for the holding of these ancient elections. (308)

(308) *Vetus olim totius ecclesiæ mos fuit, episcopus cleri et plebis cui præfuturi erant, suffragiis creari. Sic enim, ut altius non repetam, Cornelium Romæ clericorum suffragio episcopum factum, Cyprianus epist. 41 et 52, &c. In occidentalibus ecclesiis jus idem suffragii populo in renunciandis episcopis etiam post Synodum Nicænam perseve-*

It appears, however, that after the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, the sovereigns exercised the right of confirming the election of the pope; from which the transition was not difficult to their endeavoring to select the persons to be chosen. After much contest and bickering upon the subject, which it is beside our design to detail, it was left to the cardinals, in the 11th century, to elect the popes, without any interference on the part of emperor, senate, or people; and such has been the course pursued from that period to the present day. (309)

The mode usually followed, and styled election by *scrutiny*, is certainly the most extraordinary known in the history of man. The Cardinals, shut up in what is called the Conclave—not allowed to hold converse with any one whatever—their food examined by persons appointed for the purpose, lest any secret billet might be enclosed—every door of access guarded with the utmost vigilance, and all this adopted as an established system, for the purpose of securing a result which is to be attributed to the divine direction, presents, brethren, as you will readily allow, a most striking contrast to the simplicity and transparency of the primitive ages.

The ceremonies which take place after the election, are too numerous for insertion; and I shall only mention a few of those which bear, most directly, upon the official character which the pope is supposed to sustain.

rasse, tum Romanorum Pontificum Siricii, Cælestini, Leonis, decreta, quæ cleri plebisque consensu eligendos statuunt; tum Damasi, Ambrosii, Augustini, Fulgentii et aliorum, quos eo modo creatos constat, innumera passim exempla declarant.'

(309) See *Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses* par B. Picard, Tom. 1. p. 42. note c. The tone of this writer is so far from what it ought to be, that I should not cite him for any fact likely to be called in question.

Thus, it appears that he is adored three times; first, in the chapel where the election is held, ‘the Dean of the Cardinals, and after him, the other Cardinals, adore his holiness on their knees, kiss his foot, and then his right hand,’ &c. Again the ‘pope is placed *on the altar* in the Chapel of Sixtus, where the Cardinals come and adore the second time,’ in the same manner.] And again, ‘the pope is carried in his pontifical chair, under a grand canopy of red fringed with gold, to the Church of St. Peter, where he is placed *upon the grand altar*, and the Cardinals adore him for the third time, and after them, the ambassadors of princes,’ &c. (310)

At his coronation, he is seated on his throne, and an anthem is sung, the words of which are the prophecy of the psalmist, relative to Christ: ‘*Thou shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head,*’ &c. . . . ‘The second cardinal deacon takes the mitre from him, and the first puts the tiara on his head, saying: *Receive this tiara which is adorned with three crowns, and forget not, in wearing it, that you are the father of princes and of kings, the ruler of the world, and on earth, the Vicar of Jesus Christ our Sav-*

(310) Ib. p. 50. ‘Le pape est porté dans sa chaire devant l’autel de la chapelle où s’est faite l’élection, et c’est là que le cardinal doien, et ensuite les autres cardinaux adorent à genoux sa sainteté, lui baissent le pied, puis la main droite:’ &c. Le même jour deux heures avant la nuit, le pape revêtu de la chappe et couvert de sa mitre est porté sur l’autel de la Chapel de Sixte, où les cardinaux avec leurs chappes violettes viennent adorer une seconde fois le nouveau pontife qui est assis sur les reliques de la pierre sacrée. Cette adoration se fait comme la première,’ &c. . . . ‘les cardinaux précédés de la musique descendent au milieu de l’église de St. Pierre. Le pape vient ensuite porté dans son siège pontifical sous un grand dais rouge embelli de franges d’or. Les estafiers le mettent sur le grand autel de St. Pierre, où les cardinaux l’adorent pour la troisième fois, et après eux les ambassadeurs des princes,’ &c.

jour.' (311) It may be observed, by the way, that 'pope Urban V. is said to have been the first who wore the three crowns. Before him, only one crown was placed on the head of the Roman pontiff. And the first coronation spoken of in the history of the popes, is that of Damasus II. in 1048.' (312) The tiara is described as being a 'conical cap, adorned with three crowns blazing with precious stones, of inestimable value. The one worn by pope Clement VIII. was supposed to be worth five hundred thousand pieces of gold.' (313) The magnificence of all the other appendages of the pontiff may be imagined from this specimen, without wearying your attention by details, with which you are doubtless far more intimately acquainted than I.

Now, I will not insult your understandings, brethren, by asking, whether you think that these matters and such as these, belonged to the early Church of Rome. Neither shall I discuss the question whether the primitive mode of election could lawfully have been laid aside, without a far higher sanction than is pretended: the more especially as the plan now followed is directly opposed to a canon of the

(311) *Ib.* p. 55. 'Désque le pape s'est assis (sur le trône) le chœur chante l'antienne *Corona aurca super caput*, &c. avec les *repons*. . . . Le second cardinal diacre ôte la mitre au pontife, et le premier lui met le tiarage sur la tête en lui disant, *Accipe Tiaram tribus coronis ornatam et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terra vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi,*' &c.

(312) *Ib.* 52 note. 'Le pape Urbain V. fut le premier qui porta les trois couronnes. Avant lui on n'en mettoit qu'une sur la tête des pontifes. Le premier couronnement dont il est parlé dans l'histoire des papes, c'est celui de Damase second, en 1048.'

(313) *Ib.* 55. note f. 'Ce bonnet conique orné de trois couronnes toutes brillantes de pierreries est d'un prix inestimable. Celui que le pape Paul II. consacra, quoique chargé de bijoux, ne valoit pas le Tiarage de Clement VIII. que l'on estimoit, dit on, cinq cent mille piéces d'or.'

Council of Nice. (314) But it is enough for my undertaking to exhibit these changes, in order to shew, how well they harmonize with the system of your Canon law, how consistent they are with the Transalpine construction of the Council of Florence, and how unlikely it is, that the wearer of the dazzling tiara, who is exhorted, in the very act of his coronation, to remember his prerogative, as *father of kings and princes, and ruler of the world*, will ever assist his *Cisalpine* adherents to reduce his power within the moderate circle of Christian antiquity.

(314) Hard. Con. Tom. 5. p. 1426. Dissertatio Sirmondi.

The canon in question directs the ordination of bishops by *all the bishops of the province*, unless in cases of necessity, when three were allowed to ordain, after the absent bishops had consented by letter. But the whole order of antiquity seems to be done away. The pope is commonly chosen from among the cardinals who are bishops already, although only *titular bishops*, consecrated by the pope, for some far distant country, without the least intention of ever beholding their nominal dioceses. And neither in his election, nor in his ordination, any more than in his assumed powers, do we find any conformity to the primitive system.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Permit me now to express the hope, that after ages of error and darkness, so fully acknowledged by your own most learned and candid men, the time is not far distant when the true light of primitive Christianity shall be restored to the Churches; when the extravagant claims of the papal system shall be universally abandoned; when the definition of the Catholic Church shall be restored to its original simplicity; when it shall again be understood that Christ himself is amongst his people, and therefore needs no vicar; that he is the Head who has mercifully declared; *'Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,'* and therefore alone possesses the place of the true God upon the earth; and that his servants who hold the office of bishops in the Church, are, in the language of Jerome, equal, whether they be of Rome or of Eugubium; being all, alike, successors of the apostles, discharging the same ministry, and invested with the same powers.

You believe in the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH—the Church of primitive Christianity—and so do we. You claim the right of membership in that Church, and so do we. You profess the faith held by the primitive Church, taught by the early fathers, sanctioned by the first four general Councils, and so do we. And if the Church of Rome had been

satisfied with that faith—if she had abstained from those innovations which your own Cisalpine divines in part deplore, —I doubt whether any other aspect would now be presented by the Universal Church, than the aspect of unity and peace.

With respect to the modern Church of Rome, we are **PROTESTANTS**, because we have been compelled to protest against these innovations. But with respect to the primitive Church, we profess ourselves **CATHOLICS**, because we symbolize with that Church in all the important points of faith and polity. May the period soon arrive, when the work begun by your own reformers shall be carried to its true extent, and the principles of the same primitive creed shall suffice to entitle all Christians to the privileges of the same primitive communion!

Meanwhile, before I lay aside my pen, let me beg you to consider a few questions of practical importance.

And in the first place I would ask, why do you insist that Christians who hold the same ancient creed, are not equally belonging to the Catholic Church, because they are alienated from each other on minor points of polity or doctrine? Does a body cease to be united to its head, because one member becomes torpid, and another deformed, and a third spasmodic? Does a fold cease to be one, because the rams of the flock are accustomed to contend, instead of feeding side by side in peace? Does a family cease to be one, because the nearest relations have quarrelled? Does a crew cease to be one, because they refuse to eat together? Does a nation cease to be one, because factions and party-spirit divide the people? Take your analogy, brethren, from what you please, and you will find it equally opposed to your exclusive doctrine. The Catholic Church is the body of Christ, one in him, even when unable, by reason of

ecclesiastical disease, to commune in its members. The Catholic Church is the flock of the great Shepherd, one in him, even when divided amongst each other. It is Christ's holy nation and peculiar people, even while, in itself, there may be many sources of contention and strife. When ancient Israel fell into dissensions, did they cease to be regarded as the people of God? When Paul and Barnabas separated, the one from the other, did either of them lose his title to salvation? When Victor, the bishop of Rome, excommunicated the Churches of Asia in the time of Irenæus, or when Stephen subsequently excommunicated Cyprian, did they cease to belong to the Catholic Church? Hence, brethren, the plain unreasonableness of your favorite notion, that union in the faith of Christ does not make us Catholics, unless there be also communion with his supposed Vicar, and with each other. These divisions—these strifes—these controversies, and the hateful feelings of bigotry so apt to characterise them, are all deplorable. I grant it, brethren: I write the acknowledgment with a heavy heart. But still the Church may be one Catholic Church with respect to Christ—the only Head of the body—while it is manifold in reference to its members. Our union with each other is one of the results, which ought, indeed, to follow from our union with Christ our Head, just as the perfect health of the bodily system ought to be the result of the vital action. But God forbid that this divine order should be inverted. To make our union with Christ dependent upon our union with each other, would be like making our life dependent upon the perfect health of the bodily organs. Woe be to us, if every pain and sickness of our mortal frame were death! Woe be to us, if every disease amongst the members of the spiritual body were destruction!

But secondly, why do you aver, that the creed of the primitive Church Catholic warrants you in placing the supremacy of the pope amongst the articles of faith? It is most true that the ancient fathers, times without number, insist on the necessity of union *in the faith of the Catholic Church*. But your favorite doctrine, which is the *essential* characteristic of the present Church of Rome, whereby obedience to the pope is made an article of faith itself—**NECESSARY TO SALVATION**—was unknown to the primitive Church. It came in along with the doctrine of papal supremacy: it grew with its growth, and strengthened with its strength, until the headship of Christ and the headship of the pope became convertible terms; and the bishop of Rome, instead of being, as at first, simply the most influential amongst equals, became the father of kings and princes, and the ruler of the world: and the very creed '*out of which no man could be saved,*' presented to every human being **AN OATH OF TRUE OBEDIENCE TO THE POPE**, as one of the immutable and indispensable principles of the Gospel. The lamp of truth has indeed been successfully carried through this enormous fabric of error. Your own Cisalpine divines have examined its secret chambers, unrolled its archives, traced the authority for its canons, detected its frauds, and honestly and boldly, in the face of Rome herself, have proclaimed their conviction, that the primitive system had been overwhelmed—that innovation had overrun the Church—that for centuries together, ignorance and usurpation, superstition and imposture, had combined to erect a structure of power, such as the world had never beheld, and the Redeemer of the world had never authorized. All this is now confessed, by every enlightened and candid mind amongst yourselves. And why, then, do you not discard from your creed a clause which you are now so

well aware that usurpation placed there? Why destroy the claims which alone could justify the insertion of such an article, and yet insist upon the article itself, as essential to salvation? Why not complete the noble work you have begun, and resolutely reform according to the primitive platform, until nothing remains which cannot be truly defended by Scripture, and by the fathers and Councils of the early ages?

Thirdly, Why do you, in the same creed of pope Pius IV. retain the clause by which the professor of your faith *most firmly admits and embraces apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the holy Catholic and apostolic Church*, when there are so many changes, variations, and innovations, brought in upon the primitive system? For where is the kiss of charity, the communion of the cup, the allowance of marriage to the clergy, the washing of feet, the standing at prayer on festivals, the open response of the people, the reading of the Scriptures and the liturgies in the vulgar tongue which the whole congregation could understand, the election of bishops, the holding provincial councils twice in every year, and the severe but wholesome discipline of the primitive system? All these are gone from amongst you. Many of them are plainly *apostolical traditions*, by the testimony of the Scriptures and the fathers. All of them are *ecclesiastical traditions*, and constitutions or observances of the holy Catholic and apostolic Church. Why are men compelled to protest, solemnly before God, in that very creed out of which you tell them they cannot be saved, that they firmly admit and embrace things, about which not one in a thousand know anything, and which those who are informed, know to have been long since done away? Brethren, I beseech you to ask your own good understandings and upright hearts, how

such a declaration can be justified by the laws of honesty and truth.

I would ask, in the fourth place, Why do you retain another clause of the same creed, in which the professor of your faith is bound to say: I also admit the Sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the holy mother Church has held, and does hold, *nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers,*' when it is so manifest that the fathers do almost unanimously interpret your favorite texts in plain opposition to your present system? The extracts I have submitted to you in my humble performance, are of themselves more than sufficient to establish the fact. They are taken at large and most punctiliously from your own editions, and the evidence they furnish is not to be evaded. Is there not here, then, brethren, another palpable case of solemn misrepresentation, calling loudly for the hand of reform?

Fifthly, Why do you profess another clause of the same creed, in which the believer in your faith is made to say: 'I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined and declared by the sacred canons and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent,' when you know so well that a volume might be filled with those passages from the canons and Councils which retain no place in your present system? And especially, why do you continue the clause that follows, in which the believer is bound to declare, that he 'condemns, rejects, and anathematizes all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and anathematized by the Church,' when you ought to be so thoroughly aware, that in making this asseveration, he may be truly said to reject his own belief, and anathematize his own doctrine?

Not only, however, would I here protest against the con-

traditions so manifest on the face of this your favorite creed, but against the unchristian principle of pronouncing an *anathema*—A SOLEMN CURSE—upon all heresies whatsoever. True, indeed, it is, that the primitive Church, at a very early day, adopted in her Councils this deplorable custom of cursing; but at least she confined it to errors in the fundamental articles of the faith. The climax, however, of this awful habit, appeared in the Council of Trent, who applied it to every article in their whole body of divinity, and were nowhere content with cursing the error, but invariably denounced their curse upon the man that held it. Strange and melancholy fact, that the canons of this Council contain not less than *one hundred and twenty four distinct anathemas*; a large proportion of which are directed against opinions which might be holden in perfect consistency with the great doctrines of Christianity! Nay, even in the acclamations with which the fathers closed their concluding session, their partiality for this word appears again; for I find the last recorded sentence of the presiding legate was: ‘*Anathema to all heretics,*’ and the Council returned the unanimous response: ANATHEMA, ANATHEMA! (315) O brethren, if some good angel had presented before them at that moment the apostolic precept, ‘*Bless*; and CURSE NOT,’ would they not have felt reproved?

I confess that to my poor imagination, there is no spectacle more perfectly revolting, none more absolutely opposed to my notions of the ministry of reconciliation, than is presented by the picture of these two hundred and sixty five dignitaries of your Church, recording this multitude of formal deliberate curses against millions of their fellow crea-

(315) · Hard. Con. Tom. x. p. 193.

‘Card. *Anathema cunctis hæreticis.*

‘Resp. *Anathema, Anathema.*

tures, who worshipped the same Triune God, believed in the same divine and incarnate Saviour, received the same Gospel, and professed the same primitive creed, with themselves. The malediction of the Almighty is a tremendous exercise of his divine prerogative, not to be invoked in any other manner than that which his own express word enjoins upon us, as a fearful warning to the wicked. To add to the list of curses which he has decreed—to devise new modes or subjects or occasions for the purpose, and, especially, to scatter them abroad with such a liberal hand, is an occupation not easily reconciled with the religion of love, nor with the *charity that hopeth all things*. Nor is it one of the least striking proofs of the deadly influence of religious bigotry, that the Council of Trent alone should have pronounced more anathemas than the whole Bible contains; although none but God has the right to dictate a curse, as none but he has the power to inflict it.

So strangely, however, has this assumption of the divine judgment become familiarised amongst your doctors, that it is even adopted as a part of your modern *description* of the Church. Thus, in the very able tractate ‘*De Ecclesia*,’ by L. E. Delahogue, with which you are doubtless well acquainted, he saith, (316) ‘The Church of Christ, as appears from many passages of the New Testament, is a Church **TEACHING**, *Teach all nations*; (Math. xxviii) **JUDGING**; *Tell the Church*; and **ANATHEMATIZING**: *Whoever shall not hear you, let him be to you as a heathen and a publican.*’ (Matt. xvi.) Alas! brethren, for such a commentary. Did our Lord then pronounce curses upon the heathen and

(316) Tract. de Ecclesia, p. 15. ‘*Ecclesia Christi, ut patet ex multis Novi Testamenti locis, est ecclesia DOCENS, Docete omnes gentes, Math. xxviii. JUDICANS, Dic Ecclesiæ, et ANATHEMATIZANS: Qui non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus, Math. xvi.*’

the publican? Or did he mean that his followers should promulgate the Gospel of peace, by cursing all that opposed them?

But the time for these ecclesiastical fulminations has passed, I trust forever. I have no disposition to doubt, that if a similar Council should assemble at the present day, the artillery of the curse would find no place amongst the weapons of their warfare. Nor am I willing to believe that you feel any sympathy with these denunciations.

True, unhappily, it is, that your creed compels you, with all the power of assumed infallibility, to maintain this cruel form. True it is, that throughout the British dominions, you are bound to curse, *as a heretic*, the monarch whom you *obey as a king*; and are pledged, in the oath of 1791, to *support that very protestant succession*, upon which your faith forces you to invoke an unchangeable malediction. True it is, that even in the United States, the same melancholy necessity pursues you. Your rulers throughout the length and breadth of the land, are almost all heretics in your esteem: and while you pray for them, as rulers, you are obliged to curse them with the authority of a Church, which calls herself immutable; and which confidently asserts, that her sentence upon earth is ratified in heaven. All this, brethren, it must be confessed, is hard to tolerate, when it is fairly understood. And yet, I would fain hope, that the greater number of your body are right in practice, however wrong in theory. I take pleasure in the supposition, that just as liberal minded protestants, in general, close their eyes to this painful deformity in your creed, and forget its very existence; even so, a large majority amongst yourselves repeat the form assigned to you, without any definite conception of its meaning; that even when your tongues are uttering these damnatory phrases, a benevolent fraud is

unconsciously perpetrated within you ; that you pronounce a curse with your lips, while your hearts are ready to convert it into a blessing.

In the last place, however, I would ask, why do you cling to the phantom of infallibility, now that so much has been done among yourselves, to clear away the mists and darkness of the middle ages ; and to open up the path of primitive truth once more ? Why endeavor to maintain, on the one hand, that the faith of the Church *was always the same*, while your own Cisalpine divines allow, on the other, that for many successive centuries, popes, bishops, Councils, kings, nations, all except a few *of the most enlightened*, as Bossuet terms them, were involved in the same gross error with respect to the fundamental doctrine of papal supremacy ? You say well, that our Saviour promised perpetuity to his Church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. But he has nowhere said, that errors in doctrine should never be permitted to mingle with his truth. He has nowhere promised infallible guidance to a general Council. The logic, specious and plausible as it is, by which you demonstrate the necessity of such an infallible directory, proves too much for your own admissions. For since you allow that the whole Church was so carried away for more than four hundred years, by the gross absurdities of doctrine and practice in reference to papal power ; I ask you, where was her infallibility, and what was it worth, during all that time ? Nor is this the most extraordinary part of the difficulty ; for at this moment you have three different doctrines upon the same subject of papal power, and the infallibility of your Church does not enable you to agree upon any of them. Here, then, you present to us the marvellous spectacle of an infallible Church, not only adopting an erroneous doctrine of papal supremacy ever since the

time of Gregory VII, but incapable of harmoniously interpreting her own system to this day! Surely, brethren, this simple statement of unquestionable facts, is enough to demonstrate the futility of the claim, and it must be high time to abandon it.

And yet there is a sense, in which the doctrine of infallibility is unquestionably true. I grant it, as I would grant the infallibility of St. Peter. The Saviour prayed for him, that his *faith should not fail*. Therefore, that faith was certainly infallible. But although the apostle's faith was not allowed to FAIL, it was assuredly allowed TO FALL, so that he *denied his master!* He repented—he was converted—and by the experience of that fall, he strengthened his brethren; and yet we find again, that he was blameable in the matter of the Jewish ceremonial law, and needed that St. Paul should 'withstand him to the face.' Even so, the faith of the Church might be allowed to fall into error, and yet it could not be said to fail, so long as it has grace to rise again. Nevertheless, as it would be poor policy to persuade a fallen man that he was still standing, because it is manifest that if he believed you, he would not attempt to rise, so it must be a miserable mode of restoring your Church to her primitive truth, to assume, that because she was infallible, she never could have erred. With this argument to support them, the *Transalpine* divines are immoveable. That the pope, for centuries, claimed, *by divine right*, the exercise of supreme power, and successfully practised on the doctrine, is unquestionable. That the Church *believed the doctrine*, is equally certain. That it became engrafted on the *faith of the Church*, and was, to all intents and purposes, an article of her creed, cannot be denied without mere trifling; for surely that which is taught as a necessary inference from the word of

God, as an essential in the constitution of the Church, as requisite to the good government of nations, as an undoubted prerogative of *divine right*, to be allowed by all men, from the king to the beggar—and which is *believed* as it is taught, and humbly submitted to, as it is believed, and all this for centuries together—surely it is nothing better than trifling to say, that this is not a part of *the faith*. And if the Church was all this time *infallible*, so that it was impossible for her to err in faith, then this divine right of temporal and absolute supremacy must still be your doctrine, and must continue to be so, to the end of the world.

Hence, as it seems to my mind, the enlightened and liberal men amongst you, brethren, only encumber themselves and impede their own laudable efforts, by attempting to make REFORM consist with INFALLIBILITY. In the sense which you attach to it, infallibility admits of no reform, because it is incapable of error. But in its just extent of meaning, infallibility is that blessed principle of spiritual life, by which the Redeemer preserves the great doctrines of his Gospel, even in the midst of surrounding errors, until the appointed time, when his kingdom shall be established in righteousness, and truth shall obtain a glorious and eternal victory.

CONCLUSION.

BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

It was stated in the opening sentence of my third chapter, that the change of your primitive system, to which I had especially devoted this volume, was in the definition of the holy Catholic Church; including, of course, your doctrine of the papacy, and of the Councils. Lest it might be inferred from this, that I had no other ground of controversy with your claims, I beg leave to say that I have endeavored to satisfy my mind in the same manner on all the other points involved in the principles of the reformation; and intend, if life and health continue, to present you with a similar examination of the fathers on these topics, at some future day. It only remains that I conclude my present work, by pointing, with all respect and kindness, to the path, in which, according to my humble judgment, duty and advantage would unite to attend you.

You are doubtless aware, that soon after the famous declaration of the French Clergy, a plan to re-unite the reformed Churches with the Gallican Church of Rome was in agitation; that it proceeded with great privacy, and with fair prospects of success, and after an interval of some time, was again renewed, but was finally abandoned. That there was, indeed, reason to hope for a favorable conclusion of these efforts will be sufficiently credible, when it is recollected that such men as Bossuet, Du Pin, and the Cardinal

de Noailles, upon the one side, and Molanus, Leibnitz, and Archbishop Wake upon the other, thought it practicable.

It does not appear, however, that the minds of men were then favorably disposed to such a measure, in Great Britain. The maxims of intolerance were strongly established, national antipathies ran high, and the obstacles to the proper influence of enlightened counsels, were insurmountable.

Since that day, a great change has taken place in all the bearings of this mighty question. Revolutionary France cast out the Roman Catholic religion: Napoleon restored it, but its credit and its influence have never regained their former level. The wealth and power of Rome are on the wane; and although the *Transalpine* doctrines have never been formally disavowed, and are, therefore, to this day, the doctrines of your Church, yet they cannot, by any possibility, be enforced, and are more and more regarded as a dead letter. On the other hand, the claims of the Roman Catholics have risen in Great Britain to an unexpected height of estimation, and the weight of numbers and the skill of organized system, have been so successfully applied, as to threaten the established Church, and assail, in words at least, the upper house of parliament. Nor are the troubled waters yet at rest, but still heave and swell with portentous agitation.

In our own country, some wild and reckless spirits, have attacked your principles and institutions, with great bitterness and animosity; but the reception they have experienced seems to have borne testimony to the friendly feelings of the community at large; and in the neighbouring province of Lower Canada, especially, a prompt and emphatic declaration of esteem on the part of those who belonged to other Churches, has indicated a sensitiveness to your rights

and a regard to your character, alike honorable to you and to themselves.

Observations might be added from the state of religious parties in Germany and Switzerland, from the increasing power of liberal sentiment in Spain, Portugal, and even Italy itself, which would further tend to shew, that there has been a wonderful diminution of the spirit of bigotry and intolerance on all sides, a relaxation of that high tension which previously kept every portion of Christendom in a belligerent attitude towards the rest, and a growing kindness which seems in some measure to have prepared the vast host of Christ for a return to the unity of the Catholic Church, on the pure, simple, and equal principles of the primitive system.

Brethren, I am no prophet, neither the son of a prophet ; and I may be deceived in discerning the signs of the times, by my sincere love of unity, by my strong dislike to dissensions of all kinds amongst the followers of the cross, and by my fervent desire to promote, by any lawful method in my power, the solid peace of the spiritual Israel. But whether I am deceived or not, I have thought that I saw an *approximation* towards unity, if it be nothing more ; and I feel not a little disposed to the opinion, that a manifestation of primitive zeal amongst yourselves, with a judicious employment of encouraging effort on the part of those governments which have an established religion to maintain, would soon, under God, produce a settlement of all serious difficulty.

In perusing the writings of the fathers, no one can fail to be impressed with the solicitude which the Christian emperors displayed, for the peaceful adjustment of every religious controversy. Thus the great majority of the early Councils **WERE ORDERED BY THE GOVERNMENT.** The sovereigns took part in them with the liveliest ardor, and em-

ployed all the influence of their rank and power to bring the Church to unity.

Was this not laudable? Surely it was. True, indeed, there was full often, much intolerance, much persecution, much error, attendant upon the effort to maintain religious conformity. I praise not these. But apart from this alloy, I do not see why religious unity should not be as much the care of government as political unity. Conscience should never be forced in either case. But without forcing conscience, or putting any shackles on the reasonable exercise of human liberty, every government which is so constituted as to touch the subject of religion at all, may do much to discourage the spirit of dissension, and to cherish the cultivation of concord and peace.

The efforts necessary for such a purpose rest chiefly with yourselves; and permit me to say, brethren, that it concerns you, above all, to make them. For, disguise it as we may, it is not possible, consistently with your avowed doctrine, that your Church can be content with anything short of her former dominion, until the changes brought in upon her original polity are abandoned, and the primitive system is restored. As your claims now stand, it is a mistake to suppose that you can be satisfied with equal rights and privileges. You may think so in a country like the United States, so long as nothing better is attainable. You may think so in a country like Great Britain, where you have been deprived of those equal rights for centuries. Galled by the yoke of protestant ascendancy, you may imagine, and be very sincere in proclaiming, that you desire nothing more than to stand upon the common level of your brethren. But remember, I beseech you, that your Church assumes to herself, BY DIVINE RIGHT, what no other Church assumes, the authority of *mother and mistress* over all the

Churches. Remember that you exact an oath of *true obedience* to the bishop of Rome from every soul, at the peril of his salvation. Remember that this oath is a part of the creed of pope Pius IV. out of which you hold that no one can be saved, and that in the same creed, you sanction the anathemas of all the Councils, especially the one hundred and twenty four curses of the Council of Trent; besides pronouncing a distinct curse on all heresies whatever. Your present system, therefore, **OBLIGES** you to be dissatisfied with any position which falls below these claims. You are **BOUND**, *in conscience*, to contend for power, until your Church is what you think she ought to be, the acknowledged mistress of the world. You are bound in conscience, to be discontented until your rulers conform to your faith; for it is absurd to suppose that you are pleased with the duty of cursing, as heretics, those governors and magistrates whom you are pledged to honor and obey. And hence you stand in the perfectly peculiar position, of being compelled, by the very terms of your professed belief, to intrigue, to agitate, to proselyte, to strive, and to persevere, until you have regained every inch of your ancient territory. Within that mark, all that you recover must be used as an instrument for obtaining more. I do not see how you can consistently or honestly stop short of it; for while you maintain that the pope has been placed in the throne of universal supremacy, by the voice of God, and while an oath of true obedience to him stands on the very face of the creed, by which you hope to enter the kingdom of heaven, the restoration of his rights and the maintenance of his dignity as the Vicar of Christ, must surely constitute, in your esteem, the paramount principle of earthly obligation.

Why not examine, then, over and over again, the grounds of a system, which is in such manifest conflict with the evi-

dence of primitive antiquity, and with the duties which devolve on you, in all protestant countries, as citizens and men?

Why not recommence, under happier auspices, the attempt of Bossuet and Molanus in France, and a similar attempt in every other country where the importance of the subject can be appreciated? Why, especially, in England,—instead of carrying on a system of aggression and defence for mere political rights and Church property, which imbitters strife, and sharpens animosity,—why not select the wisest, the most learned, and the most moderate men, of all parties in religion, and engage every legitimate and honest influence of government to bring them to a kindly agreement?

Why not occupy the attention of the congress of sovereigns, which, of late years, has so often assembled to consider the political welfare of Europe, with the far more sublime and important topic of the unity of Christendom? Why not, on the free soil of the United States, propose to meet the various denominations, for the sake of friendly and affectionate discussion, instead of casting down the gauntlet of proud defiance, and challenging each other to the public war of words? Why not, in fine, brethren,—since the Church of Rome, by your own acknowledgment, has innovated so largely on the primitive system,—why not frankly cast aside the figments of *immutability* and *infallibility*, and with the Scriptures of truth and the lights of antiquity for your guides, retrace your course to the apostolic fountain? Why not abjure your anathemas, ‘bless and curse not,’ and bend all your energy and influence to the promotion of ancient Catholic unity, in the spirit of charity and peace?

But perhaps the bare suggestion of such a practical result, may call down upon me the appellations of DREAMER—EN-

THOUSIAST—VISIONARY—FOOL! Be it so, brethren: I shall not quarrel with any man about the epithets of which he may think me worthy. A few years will place me beyond the reach of human judgment; and meanwhile, with the storms and tempests, the distractions and calamities of the Church of God before me, let me dream—if you will call it so—of a brighter and a purer day. Let me indulge the enthousiasm which refuses to despair of the prosperity of Israel: let me behold in vision, if I cannot in reality, the harmony and concord of the Redeemer's fold; and when the dew of death is gathering on my forehead, let my last prayer be for the peace of Zion.

Yet, brethren,—be it enthousiasm, or not—it is my deep and solemn conviction, that no other course is so likely to avert a tremendous conflict, which will shake the Church to its centre, convulse the civilized world, and destroy every vestige of your influence and power. The elements of confusion are now at work: the superstition of ignorance, the bigotry of fanaticism, the scorn of infidelity, thinly disguised at best, and often triumphing under the broad banner of zeal for the public good, are all preparing to avail themselves of the hateful discord of the Church, and are ready to sacrifice, to the worst passions of the human heart, every pure and holy principle. In the fearful agitations which threaten Christendom, your dominion must be the first to fall, even as the loftiest trees are most sure to be uprooted in the fury of the storm. But the result is not to be predicted by human sagacity. The violent prostration of Christianity in any shape, injures it in all; and therefore every conservative maxim of wisdom combines with every motive of kindness, and every argument of duty, to recommend the timely magnanimity of a voluntary reform, in which all who profess the primitive faith, might equally

unite, and be equally protected. The people of God, the rulers of nations, the friends of government and order, the lovers of virtue and of peace, should all look to it; for if the tempest of anarchy arises, the generation yet unborn may weep over the apathy and the procrastination of those, who might have averted the calamity, but did not.

Brethren in Christ, my task is done. I acknowledge the manifold imperfections of its execution. I am aware that important questions, whether in Church or State, are apt to be very erroneously regarded by men, who, like myself, are far removed from courts and capitols, from the glare and turmoil of the great world, in the shade of a happy seclusion. With the operations of governments, with the science of politics, with the mighty and controlling spirits of the earth, it has pleased a gracious Providence to give me neither opportunity nor desire to intermeddle. But as one devoted to Christian unity and Christian concord, regarding you and every other portion of the universal Church with none but the kindest feeling, and warmly attached to those principles which I believe to have distinguished the pure and primitive day, I have undertaken, in my obscurity, to approach the altar of truth, and lay upon it a sincere, although an humble offering. May the God of truth pardon its defects, and vouchsafe to it his acceptance and his blessing!





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